

TIME

The Poisoning Of An American City



Toxic water. Sick kids.
And the incompetent
leaders who betrayed Flint

By Josh Sanburn



This is the Microsoft Cloud.



Cover Story

Toxic Tap

Switching its water supply to the local river was supposed to help cash-starved Flint, Mich., get out of debt. Instead, it poisoned a city

By Josh Sanburn **32**



An activist at city hall protests Flint's public-health nightmare

Fear and Loathing in Germany

The New Year's Eve sexual assaults have made it harder for Germans to say *Willkommen* to migrants

By Simon Shuster **40**

Is China Kidnapping Its Critics?

The disappearance of five publishers—two outside mainland China—has dissidents worried

By Hannah Beech **46**

On the cover:

Sincere Smith, 2, of Flint, Mich., suffers from a full-body rash his mother blames on bathing in municipal water from the Flint River. Photograph by Regina H. Boone—Detroit Free Press/TNS/Newscom

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Michael B. Jordan, page 53



What you said about ...

REMEMBERING DAVID BOWIE Kudos for TIME's Jan. 25 appreciation of the late rock star, by Isaac Guzmán, came from media as diverse as HLN and NBC's *Extra*, as well as from readers. Stuart Harris of Dublin, Ohio, called the piece "excellent" and praised Guzmán for finding "a way to condense years of music and artistry" into six pages. Many readers were struck by the cover photo, an iconic 1989 Herb Ritts portrait of Bowie in a dazzling striped bodysuit. *Ad Age* called it "stunning," and fans shared the image widely on social media. On Twitter, @janehmul wrote that it was an "amazing cover for an out of this world artist" and @Inwest hailed it as "the most iconic pop/fashion photograph of all time."

'[I've been a] great fan 20 years of my life and I say ... Well played till the end sir. Respect!'

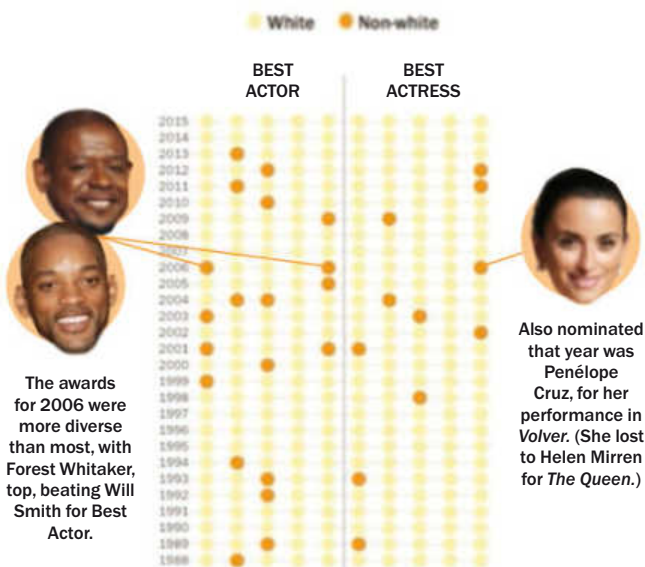
MARLIES LOGOTHETI, on Facebook

TED CRUZ RISING Alex Altman's Jan. 25 piece on the growing chance that Cruz could be the GOP nominee prompted many readers to express their anxiety about Cruz's appeal to religious conservatives. Robert Carver of New Orleans was left "deeply disturbed" by the prospect of a President who could "undermine the very foundation of our nation" with his ties to people he feels want to "impose a form of Christian nationalism on the U.S." rather than uphold "the constitutional mandate to keep the government neutral in matters of religion." Merlin Dorfman of San Jose, Calif., cautioned that those Cruz supporters "don't represent all evangelicals, much less all Christians, and we should not let them pretend they do."

'Pastors supporting Cruz claim tax-exempt status yet are heavily involved in sectarian politics. That exemption should end.'

KENNETH LEE, Raytown, Mo.

OSCARS OMISSION For the second year in a row, the Motion Picture Academy nominated only white actors for Oscars, which prompted criticism (see page 53). How does this period fare against years past? TIME Labs mapped out an interactive history of Oscars diversity dating back to the first awards in 1929. See the whole chart at labs.time.com.



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'I told my kids that Daddy was coming home.'

NAGHMEH ABEDINI, wife of Iranian-American pastor Saeed Abedini, after Iran released him and three other detained Americans as part of a prisoner exchange; the swap coincided with the final implementation of last year's nuclear deal between Iran and Western powers



SpaceX
The company successfully launched into orbit a satellite to track rising ocean levels



**GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK**



SpaceX
But its rocket exploded while attempting to land back on Earth

'It has me thinking about unconscious prejudice and what merits prestige in our culture.'

LUPITA NYONG'O, actor, on growing controversy surrounding the lack of minority nominees for this year's Oscars



26

Average age of first-time mothers in the U.S., a new high



\$21,500

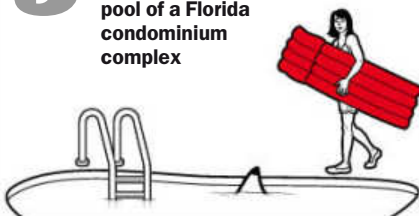
Amount that at least one thief stole in coins (worth £15,000) from three houses in northwest England

'I'M SORRY MOST OF ALL THAT I LET YOU DOWN'

RICK SNYDER, Michigan governor, apologizing for his handling of the water contamination crisis in Flint



5 Length, in feet, of a live blacktip shark that was found in the swimming pool of a Florida condominium complex



'No more pussyfootin' around.'

SARAH PALIN, 2008 Republican vice-presidential candidate, endorsing Donald Trump for President



'Experience does not necessarily equate to judgment. Dick Cheney had a hell of a lot of experience.'

BERNIE SANDERS, Democratic presidential candidate, questioning the value of rival Hillary Clinton's foreign policy experience



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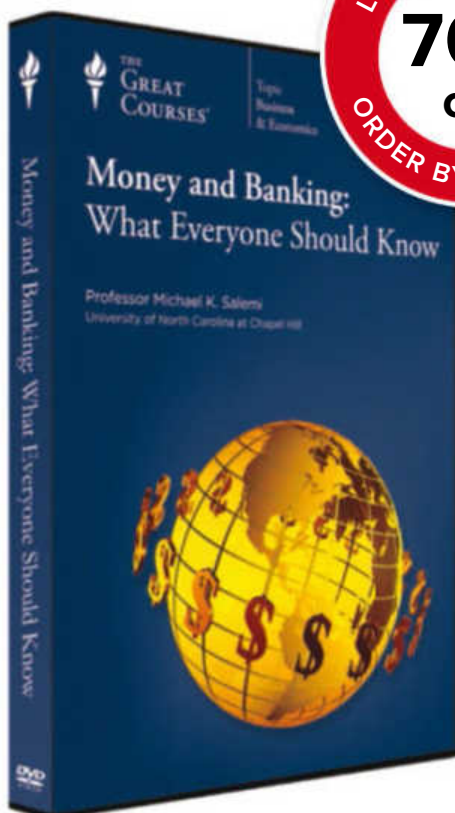
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The Brief

'GLENN FREY COULD TELL A STORY BY JUST DIGGING INTO HIS GUITAR.' —PAGE 17



The Vermont Senator's promise of a "political revolution" has captured the Democratic imagination

POLITICS

Why Bernie Sanders' revolution needs a second act

By Sam Frizell/
Charleston, S.C.

IF IT WERE UP TO A CASTING AGENCY, Bernie Sanders would be the last pick for President. His shock of disheveled white hair, those wild gesticulations, the defiant disdain for ceremony and pretension all paint him as more character actor than leading man. His wife Jane likes to tell a story about a White House state dinner at which only Sanders and Nelson Mandela refused to don the customary black tie. "Never have I worn a tuxedo," Sanders boasted to *TIME* in a recent interview.

But the Democratic Party is not Hollywood, despite Republican claims otherwise. It is a restless, rebellious group, partial to insurgents even in times of plenty. This helps explain Sanders' rise in the polls and the recent struggles of Hillary Clinton, who now trails him in New Hampshire by

as much as 27 points and has watched her lead shrink in Iowa. Many people, especially younger voters, see Sanders as the truth-telling iconoclast of the moment. "He's a little bull in a china shop," said one supporter, Darrell Freemind, 36, at a rally on Jan. 18 in Columbia, S.C.

The problem for Sanders is that bulls don't have a good record of becoming Democratic nominees, let alone Presidents. Recent history is full of rising candidates—the Rev. Jesse Jackson in 1988, Bill Bradley in 2000 and Howard Dean in 2004—who captured the liberal imagination only to stumble with primary voters. "They love insurgents, because they are mad at the government," Dean recently said to the *Huffington Post*. "But at the end of the day, if you want to be President,

you've got to look like one, and I never could bring myself to do that."

David Axelrod, who helped Barack Obama move beyond his liberal barn-burner act to capture the nomination and the White House, agrees. Now that Sanders has excited the base, he argues, the Vermont Senator must move beyond his economic message. Obama did something similar in 2008, when he transitioned away from a focus on his early opposition to the Iraq War. "To take the next step, he would need a second act," Axelrod says of Sanders. "The mantra of banks and billionaires is a clarification call, but to be more than a messenger, he needs a wider lens."

When asked to respond to the warnings of party graybeards, Sanders rejects the conventional wisdom wholesale, saying it fails to capture the spirit of his coming political revolution. "The message that we have is for the middle class, working families and low-income people all over this country," he tells TIME two weeks before the Iowa caucus. "Virtually all of the ideas that I am bringing forth are supported by the American people." Continue hitting the populist notes, he says, and he'll continue to broaden his appeal and energize his supporters. "We think that contributes to a large voter turnout," he says, "and large voter turnout means victory."

His campaign has taken clear steps to blunt the Clinton campaign's efforts to paint Sanders as a modern-day Man of La Mancha who will never be able to win the White House. Recent mailers in Iowa from the Sanders campaign call him a "pragmatist" who "was cited as one of Congress' most successful brokers." One of his television ads running in Iowa describes him as a "practical and successful legislator" and an "effective leader." It's a message he has brought to the stump as well. "People say, 'What we're hearing, Bernie, is that people like your ideas, but they think you can't win—you're a nice guy, but you can't beat the Republicans,'" Sanders thundered at a rally in Carroll, Iowa, on Jan. 19. "That's wrong."

Head-to-head polls do show Sanders outperforming Clinton in early matchups against Donald Trump as the hypothetical Republican nominee. But those polls are rarely predictive, and over the coming weeks Sanders will face the task of selling programs that Obama's advisers believed to be too liberal—like universal health care, free public college and expanded Social Security benefits, paid for by new taxes on the wealthy and the middle class. His proposed "Medicare-for-all" health care system would replace the Affordable Care Act and private insurers with universal coverage, in the style

CAMPAIGN 2016

HOT ON THE TRAIL

So much for Iowa nice. Welcome to the GOP knife fight.



The Boss barks

Donald Trump isn't the only name caller in the race. In a TIME interview, Chris Christie called Ted Cruz "asinine" for attacking NYC values and hit Marco Rubio as "pre-canned," "inexperienced" and "disingenuous."



The Palin bump

Sarah Palin threw her old pal Cruz under the campaign bus when she endorsed Trump as a true conservative. "He's got the guts to wear the issues that need to be spoken about and debated on his sleeve," she said.



Where's Ted?

Cruz heard the bad news on a five-day tour of New Hampshire, where he has been distracted while his rivals attack him in Iowa—like Governor Terry Branstad, who said he hopes Cruz loses for opposing ethanol subsidies.

of European countries and Canada. Sanders says the plan would on the balance save most families thousands of dollars a year in reduced health care costs, even though it would require a 2.2% health care income tax and a 6.2% payroll tax on employers. And Sanders would pay for tuition-free public colleges and universities with a new tax on Wall Street transactions. Clinton, by contrast, has long been careful to maintain that she would refrain from tax increases on middle-class families.

The more fundamental challenge, however, may have to do with the coalition Sanders has been able to attract. So far he has been able to either split or win the white Democratic vote in early state polls, while racking up gains among young voters. But he still trails Clinton badly among the other key parts of the Obama coalition, including black and Latino voters who are essential for winning the Democratic nomination. "Obama did what he did because he was going to be the first black President in history," says Joe Trippi, who managed Dean's 2004 campaign. "I don't know how Bernie does that." Recent criticism over Sanders' refusal to consider a reparations bill for slavery because it is "divisive" will not help. "No one knows who the hell Bernie Sanders is," says Democratic New York Representative Charles Rangel, referring to black voters.

All the difficulties might explain why the candidate and his aides have avoided setting expectations throughout Sanders' nine-month journey from blip to blockbuster. It's a what-the-heck campaign, run by well-educated guesses and long-shot bets, not science and inevitability. It took nearly six months before they even hired a pollster. Sanders sometimes seems as surprised as anyone else that the political revolution has caught on. "I don't have a magic formula," he says. "If you're asking me has the campaign moved faster and more successfully than I thought it would, the answer is yes."

Win or lose in February, Sanders is preparing for a long race against Clinton. He has told his aides that he aims to be in until the Democratic National Convention, no matter what. With 1.2 million Americans giving to his campaign, millions of dollars in the bank and bigger ground operations than Clinton in some states, he is well positioned to make good on the promise of, at minimum, shifting the political discourse, just as Trump has done with the GOP. "We have got to revitalize American democracy," he likes to say. That is a role Sanders can play even if he isn't cast as the lead. —With reporting by ZEKE J. MILLER/CARROLL, IOWA, and JAY NEWTON-SMALL/WASHINGTON



TRENDING



IMMIGRATION

The U.S. Supreme Court announced on Jan. 19 that it would review President Obama's executive action to protect 5 million undocumented people from deportation after lower courts ruled that the move exceeded his authority, delaying its implementation.



INEQUALITY

The world's richest 62 people own as much wealth as the 3.6 billion people who make up the poorer half of the global population, according to a new report by Oxfam. Those 62 people have seen their riches increase by \$542 billion since 2010, the report said.



ANIMALS

Giant-panda cub Bei Bei—whose name means “precious treasure”—made his public debut on Jan. 16 at the National Zoo in Washington. Born on Aug. 22, he is the third surviving offspring of parents Tian Tian and Mei Xiang, and had a twin who died shortly after birth.



PAKISTAN ATTACK Men at a hospital in Charsadda, Pakistan, move caskets bearing the bodies of some of the 19 people killed during an attack by four militants on Bacha Khan University on Jan. 20. A Taliban splinter group claimed responsibility for the attack, but the country's larger Taliban organization labeled the assault “un-Islamic.” Photograph by Bilawal Arbab—EPA

SPOTLIGHT

Taiwan's moderate new leader troubles China

TSAI ING-WEN BECAME TAIWAN'S FIRST female President on Jan. 16, winning 56% of the vote and a parliamentary majority for her Beijing-skeptic Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The party's victory, on a self-governing island that China still considers a rogue province, may complicate relations with Beijing:

QUIET REFORMER The former law professor, who studied at Cornell and the London School of Economics as well as in Taiwan, is more technocrat than tub thumper and considers German Chancellor Angela Merkel a role model. An experienced negotiator in trade policy and diplomatic relations, Tsai courted young voters by promising new and more innovative jobs, backing same-sex marriage—and by showing off her two cats on the trail.

CHINA TENSIONS Cross-strait relations may become strained under Tsai, given the DPP's long-term pledge to break away from China. But the new President resolved to “maintain the status quo” with Beijing, even as she pushes for greater economic freedoms. China, which has long said it would bring Taiwan under control by force if necessary, urged Tsai in state media to drop “hallucinations” about sovereignty.

ECONOMIC FOCUS Domestic issues dominated the election, as GDP growth slowed in 2015. In order to bolster the economy, Tsai has pledged to strengthen trade with the rest of Asia and risk China's ire by pushing for Taiwan to join the Trans-Pacific Partnership with 12 other Pacific Rim nations. “Taiwan needs a new model,” she told TIME in 2015. —JULIA ZORTHIAN

◀ Tsai's liberal party promotes a Taiwanese national identity separate from China's





Sarah Garcia, Architect

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TRENDING



SPORTS

World tennis authorities failed to probe **widespread match fixing by at least 16 top players over the past decade**, according to new reports. None were named, but world No. 1 Novak Djokovic admitted declining a \$200,000 offer to throw a 2007 match.



HEALTH

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention issued a travel warning Jan. 19 **urging pregnant women to delay visits to 14 Latin American and Caribbean countries and territories** affected by the mosquito-borne Zika virus, which is linked to birth defects.



ENVIRONMENT

2015 was **the warmest year ever recorded on earth** by the largest margin on record, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and NASA reported on Jan. 20. It's the fourth year in the 21st century a new global record has been set.

THE RISK REPORT

Saudi Arabia will be the big loser from the plunge in oil prices

By Ian Bremmer

OIL PRICES STAND AT THE INTERSECTION of geopolitics and the global economy. When prices fall as far and as fast as they have over the past two years—dropping some \$85 a barrel—shock waves are felt around the world.

Vladimir Putin's outsize personality means that Russia could be highly vulnerable to low oil prices. But while the country's economy will certainly take a hit, the impact will be greater in the Middle East, especially in an anxious and isolated Saudi Arabia.

In Russia, energy accounts for more than 50% of federal budget revenue and 18% of national GDP. In Saudi Arabia, the state relies on oil for about 80% of budget revenue, and it represents 45% of GDP. The Russian ruble floats freely, providing greater flexibility to manage shocks. The Saudi riyal, on the other hand, remains pegged to the strengthening dollar.

It's true that the Saudis still have more than \$620 billion in reserves, which they can use to maintain stability. But that's about \$100 billion less than they had last year. Unless oil rebounds—a lot—Saudi Arabia's problems will grow.

Russia is also more stable politically. In Saudi Arabia, concerns are growing that the death of the current King could create open conflict over the process of succession to a

new generation of princes. Meanwhile, Putin enjoys an 85% approval rating, despite worsening economic conditions.

Russia has a nuclear arsenal as the ultimate guarantee of security against attack. It also has a much more sophisticated military capacity and better-trained personnel than the Saudis, who have traditionally outsourced security to Washington. But the U.S. now no longer needs nearly as much Saudi oil as it once did, and the Obama Administration is increasingly reluctant to get more deeply involved in Middle East hot spots.

Saudi Arabia relies on oil for about 80% of budget revenue, and it represents 45% of GDP

At the same time, the lifting of sanctions on Iran, the great Saudi rival, will bring 1 million new barrels of oil per day to the marketplace, shifting global market share,

and the Middle East's balance of power, in Iran's direction.

Other producers are hurting too. Exporters like Nigeria, Brazil and Mexico will feel the pinch. But those economies are better diversified and will sustain much less damage. Others may have more to fear than the Saudis. Venezuela relies on imports for virtually everything except crude oil, and is closer to the edge of major political and economic turmoil than any other oil producer.

But while Venezuela may wake up to find its house on fire, Saudi Arabia, a declining power at the heart of an increasingly combustible region, risks burning down its neighbors' houses too. It deserves close watching. □

ROUNDUP

Connecting the planet

Some 4 billion people, the majority of the world's population, lack access to the Internet and are excluded from the digital economy, according to a new World Bank study. Here's a look at how companies have tried to fill the void in the three countries with the lowest connectivity. —Tara John

INDIA

Facebook's Free Basics initiative would provide free, limited Internet access to some of the 1 billion unconnected Indians, but India suspended it amid concerns about Net neutrality.

CHINA

Alibaba founder Jack Ma aims to close the digital divide in China, where over 700 million lack access, through "rural e-commerce" centers that help villagers learn how to browse, sell and buy online.



INDONESIA

Google's Project Loon will use hundreds of giant helium balloons floating in the stratosphere in a bid to connect the 200 million Indonesians, many on remote islands, who lack Internet access.

Milestones

PURCHASED

A stake in **satirical news outlet the Onion**, by Spanish-language broadcaster Univision, as it aims to grow its millennial audience ahead of the 2016 U.S. presidential elections.

REACHED

An agreement by **Goldman Sachs** to pay more than \$5 billion—including about \$1.8 billion in relief to consumers—to settle an ongoing government investigation into its dealings with mortgage-backed securities in the run-up to the 2008 financial crisis.

DIED

René Angéll, 73, Celine Dion's husband and manager, a singer 26 years her senior who discovered her when she was 12. Two days after his death, the five-time Grammy winner's brother Daniel Dion, 59, also died. Both had cancer.

➤ **Dan Haggerty,** 73, star of the 1974 movie *The Life and Times of Grizzly Adams*, about a bearded mountaineer's adventures living with a bear. He won a 1978 People's Choice Award for his role in the popular TV adaptation.



J.K. Rowling called Snape "a gift of a character"; in Rickman, she got a gift of an actor too

DIED

Alan Rickman *Villain we loved to hate*

WHAT DO YOU REMEMBER ABOUT AN ACTOR ONCE HE'S gone? The distinctive, mysterious essence of Alan Rickman, who died Jan. 14 at 69, is that voice, a silky tiger's purr. Rickman was already in his early 40s when he took his first film role, that of the urbane villain Hans Gruber in 1988's *Die Hard*. In a profession where so many people rush to be stars, he'd taken his time—he found the sweet spot between leading man and character actor, and it suited him. Rickman was extraordinary in Anthony Minghella's 1991 *Truly, Madly, Deeply*, as a cellist-ghost who returns to comfort his bereaved girlfriend, and in Dean Parisot's 1999 space odyssey, *Galaxy Quest*, playing a very serious actor relegated to a Spock-like alien role on a cult-hit TV show. ("I was an actor once!" he says with a marvelous eye roll.)

In real life, though, Rickman expressed nothing but fondness for the role that made him *really* famous, as the seemingly misanthropic, though ultimately heroic, Severus Snape in the *Harry Potter* pictures. The sound of Snape's voice, resonant and beguiling, is a kind of magic charm by itself. It may be the thing you remember. But it's inseparable from the whole spectacular package.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

DIED

Glenn Frey *Eagles founder and guitarist*

By Linda Ronstadt

GLENN FREY COULD TELL A story by just digging into his guitar. I first met him through John David Souther—they had a duo called Longbranch Pennywhistle. I hired Glenn for my tour to replace Bernie Leadon, along with Don Henley, who I'd also seen play at the Troubadour nightclub in West Hollywood. We weren't making enough money to afford hotel rooms for everybody, so we had to double up, and he and Don were roommates. They wanted to form a band, and we told them they could play backup for me until they got a record deal. I suggested Bernie for their band, and my manager suggested Randy Meisner. We introduced the Eagles to one another.

Glenn was kind of shy and insecure, and it took a lot of courage to perform at the Troubadour, where the circle included Joni Mitchell, Neil Young, Carole King, and Crosby, Stills & Nash. But he wasn't afraid to step up and take his chance. He had a clear idea of the story he wanted to tell—and he told it with that guitar. He had plenty of talent, but he also had raw nerve and gumption.

There are a lot of pushy people out there who have nothing to back it up. But Glenn knew when to make his move. He was incredibly brave. And what he did resonated with the world.

Ronstadt is a singer and songwriter

Frey, who died Jan. 18 at 67, pictured in 1973





LightBox

Out in the cold

Nepalis affected by the devastating earthquake last April receive free blankets and other aid in Laprak, in the country's Gorkha district, on Jan. 19. Earthquake survivors in the hard-hit district, northwest of the capital, Kathmandu, are facing a harsh winter season.

Photograph by Narendra Shrestha—EPA

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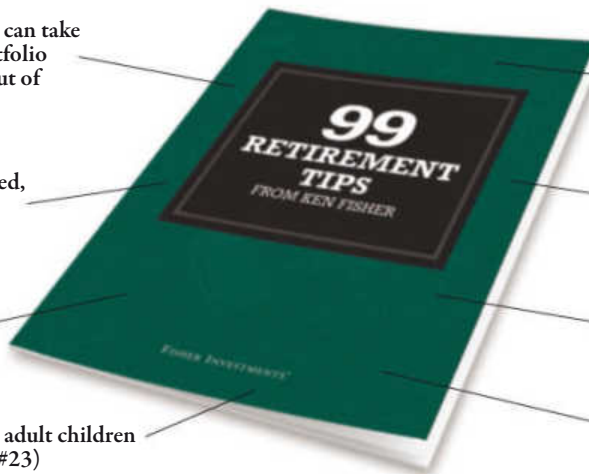
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The View

'WHAT A CONFIDENCE ARTIST SELLS IS HOPE.' —PAGE 22



Wheaton College professor Larycia Hawkins is under fire for expressing solidarity with Muslims

RELIGION

A fight for the future of evangelical Christianity

By Elizabeth Dias

AS A SCHOOL FOUNDED BY CHRISTIAN abolitionists on the eve of the Civil War, Wheaton College is no stranger to activism. But nothing in decades has riled the evangelical Illinois campus like the question of whether a professor committed heresy when she claimed in a recent Facebook post that Christians and Muslims “worship the same God.”

As a result, Larycia Hawkins will be tried by her school’s administration in coming weeks, a process that could end her tenure and expel her from campus. Much of the college community has rallied to her defense. One group of alumni sent 24 dozen roses to the provost’s office in protest. Some 800 graduates have signed a petition threatening to withhold future donations. Her fellow professors have been wearing their academic robes to

class in protest, and the student newspaper ran a picture of Hawkins on its front page, wrapped in a hijab, the Muslim scarf.

Like many evangelical colleges, Wheaton—the alma mater of celebrity preacher Billy Graham—is seen as a bellwether for the faith, which finds itself at a crossroads. In a political climate that often links Islam and terrorism, some Republican presidential candidates are seeking votes by casting the fight as a religious one, and evangelical leaders are picking sides. “Islam is not a peaceful religion,” Franklin Graham, Billy’s evangelist son, wrote after the Paris attacks. Others urge interfaith outreach and dialogue.

“Evangelicals need to sort out what is theologically essential from what is theologically peripheral,” says Gary Burge, a New Testament professor at

Wheaton. “My fear is that the political extremes we now see in our country, typified and exacerbated perhaps by Donald Trump, have now been baptized and brought into the evangelical world.”

Unlike professors at secular schools, the Wheaton faculty must sign a Statement of Faith every year, swearing to historic creeds and biblical principles of evangelical Christianity. The statement has never defined a relationship between Christianity and Islam, and there is long-standing theological debate among evangelicals about the views that the Bible allows. (The Illinois campus is unaffiliated with a Massachusetts liberal-arts school also called Wheaton College.)

Hawkins says her Facebook post was meant as nothing more than a statement of Christian solidarity at a time when Muslims faced a backlash after terrorist attacks in Paris and San Bernardino. “What is at stake for me is the integrity of my Christian testimony,” Hawkins tells TIME.

This is not the first time the question of proper Christian relations with Islam has been tested. In 2007, the year Hawkins was hired, some 300 Christian leaders—including Wheaton’s president and its provost, as well as pastor Rick Warren—signed a full-page ad in the *New York Times* defending shared love of God between Christians and Muslims. Some evangelicals, like Southern Baptist Theological Seminary president Al Mohler, protested, and Wheaton officials later removed their names. Wheaton’s president made clear at the time that he would not criticize other signers.

The latest fight is complicated by Hawkins’ unique position on campus as the only black woman with tenure in a school where the student body is only 3% black. The provost overseeing Hawkins’ expulsion trial originally said in a private email that Hawkins’ comments were “innocuous” but that they had created a public relations disaster for the college. After formally asking her to clarify her theological position, he moved to fire her.

Whatever the outcome of Hawkins’ case, the evangelical church is changing, and the school will find itself transformed by this fight. The next generation is simply more tolerant of diverse ideas on issues like marriage, homosexuality and Islam. “Jesus got accused of being friends with tax collectors and sinners. He goes to the margins, to people everyone else pushes out,” says Gene Green, another New Testament professor at Wheaton. “He’s really, really good. And Larycia was doing a good thing.”

TIME correspondent Elizabeth Dias is a graduate of Wheaton College, where she studied theology

VERBATIM
‘This is the first time in 150 years we can say convincingly that the planetary census of the solar system is incomplete.’

MICHAEL BROWN, Caltech astronomer, announcing the discovery of what appears to be a ninth planet, orbiting well beyond Neptune; although they have not seen it yet (the image below is a rendering), Brown and Caltech planetary scientist Konstantin Batyagin have observed its gravitational influence



THE NUTSHELL

The Confidence Game

HOW DO CON ARTISTS trick even the savviest skeptics into falling for a scam? That’s the question journalist Maria Konnikova explores in her new book, drawing on a mix of real-life fraud: a religious leader who passes a donation basket to fund his extravagant wardrobe; an art dealer selling fake Rothkos and Pollocks; a woman who lures her cyberbeau to Bolivia under the guise of romance, then sends him home with two kilos of cocaine. At the end of the day, Konnikova argues, these tricks work because humans are psychologically programmed to be gullible. “What a confidence artist sells is hope,” she writes. “Hope that you’ll be happier, healthier, richer,” that you “will emerge on the other side” and somehow be superior. And with technology making it more likely than ever that you’ll encounter a scheme—consumer fraud is up 60% since 2008, and half of it happens online—it’s best to question those hopes, no matter how real they seem. The best defense, Konnikova writes, “is knowledge, pure and simple.” —SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

Abridged classics



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

SNAPSHOT

The ice hotel

Imagine a resort with every luxury—except heat. That's the idea behind Hôtel de Glace, Quebec City's annual take on the ice hotels popular in Scandinavia. This year, 30,000 tons of tightly packed snow were used to sculpt 44 guest rooms and a variety of larger spaces; they're adorned with tables, chairs and even glasses made of ice, so patrons can sip cocktails while braving the 25°F (−4°C) interior chill. For \$137+, they can even spend a night in a sleeping bag atop a frozen bed. "It takes everyone's breath away," says CEO Jacques Desbois, referring to the hotel's beauty—or its temperature. —Julie Shapiro



QUICK TAKE

The hidden cost of waiting tables

By Saru Jayaraman

THE RESTAURANT INDUSTRY IS THE SECOND largest employer in the U.S., providing jobs for nearly 11 million Americans. It's also one of the country's fastest-growing industries; revenues have risen every year since 2010.

But the reality of being a restaurant worker isn't nearly as rosy. More than half—including waiters and bussers—are considered tipped employees, a designation that allows employers to pay them less than the minimum wage; in 43 states, their base wage can be as low as \$2.13 per hour. And data suggests tips don't cover the difference. Tipped workers in full-service restaurants are twice as likely to receive government assistance as workers in other sectors of American industry, a financial burden that costs taxpayers some \$9.5 billion each year. They're also mostly women and statistically more likely

to endure sexual harassment, a by-product of having their pay tied to the subjective satisfaction of their customers.

Change on this front may be imminent. In 2015, two prominent restaurateurs, Danny Meyer and Tom Colicchio, announced plans to eliminate tipping at their restaurants in favor of fixed, livable wages for all employees. Other independent eateries followed suit. Meanwhile, several states have voted to raise tipped wages, and a bill in Congress proposes that tipped restaurant employees be paid the full minimum wage.

Until then, it's on diners to make an informed choice about where to eat—according to how food is served and how staff is treated.

Jayaraman is the co-director of the Restaurant Opportunities Centers United and author of Forked: A New Standard of American Dining

ROUNDUP WORLD'S WORST PASSWORDS



The easiest way to jeopardize your online security? Picking one of 2015's most popular passwords, as determined by the software firm SplashData, based in Los Gatos, Calif. Among them:

123456

PASSWORD

QWERTY

FOOTBALL

BASEBALL

DRAGON

MASTER

MONKEY

LETMEIN

PRINCESS

STARWARS

The favela residents who won't make room for the Olympics

By Sean Gregory/Rio de Janeiro

FROM THE ROOF OF HIS CONCRETE HOME, LUIZ CLAUDIO looks out at the bulldozers and construction cranes assembling the Olympic Park of Rio de Janeiro. (Opening ceremonies coming Aug. 5!) The sadness seeps through his sharp green eyes. Claudio points to a moss-covered entryway below, which is crowded with a bicycle, refrigerator, wheelbarrow and red couch with a stuffed animal dangling off the armrest. "I got married there," Claudio says. The cove served as a community chapel for over a half-dozen years. And if the city of Rio had its way, it would be razed, along with the rest of Claudio's home that he shares with his wife, mother-in-law, daughter, brother and sister, all to make room for the Olympic party this summer.

Claudio, 53, lives in Vila Autódromo, one of the hundreds of poor neighborhoods in Rio, or favelas, scattered across the streets and lush hills of a *cidade maravilhosa* (marvelous city). The backhoes have already leveled most of Vila Autódromo, leaving his community in ruins. According to the nonprofit World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee of Rio de Janeiro, throughout the city more than 4,100 families have been removed from their homes because of the Olympics.

But Claudio, who's wearing a white T-shirt that reads *RIO SEM REMOÇÕES* (Rio Without Removals), and a few dozen other final holdouts refuse to leave, forcing a final standoff between

'When Rio got the Olympics, people in the favelas could feel change. But since 2013, the mask has been taken off.'

THERESA WILLIAMSON, executive director of Catalytic Communities and editor in chief of RioOnWatch.org

the city and impoverished Vila Autódromo residents. This matchup carries real-life consequences greater than any Olympic event.

Will the city forcefully evict the last Autódromo holdouts, a move not exactly in keeping with the Olympic spirit of fair play? Will it just build around the last roughshod homes, threatening the pristine veneer this Brazilian megacity wants to splash all

over its Games, the first ever held in South America? Or will the city finally fulfill its vow to incorporate the favela into Olympic planning, and improve infrastructure and services within the community in ways that will last well after the Olympic flame has moved on?

Given that Vila Autódromo looks like a war zone, thanks to razing already well under way, that last outcome seems about as likely as a racewalker winning the 100-m sprint. "The Olympics are being used as a pretext," says Claudio, "to destroy life stories."

THE FATE OF THE FAVELAS is hardly the only challenge facing Rio's beleaguered Olympic planners. The Brazilian



▲
A partially demolished building in Rio's Vila Autódromo neighborhood



economy is in tatters, with projections that growth declined by some 3% in 2015. President Dilma Rousseff faces impeachment for allegedly violating budget laws. Its transport infrastructure is outdated. Rio's waters are polluted, threatening the health of thousands of athletes and spectators who will descend upon the city for the Games. And now the country's leaders are facing community opposition to the Games that are meant to be Rio's showcase.

Vila Autódromo, settled as a fishing village along the Jacarepaguá Lagoon in 1967, now occupies prime waterfront real estate in Rio's upscale Barra da Tijuca neighborhood. Residents are convinced that after the Olympics, developers will build luxury condos with sweeping views of the lagoon—condos none of them will ever live in.

In a visit in December, however, Vila Autódromo is in rubble. A tire, a closet, rags, bottles, a bathtub and other remnants of destroyed homes lie amid the rocks, tiles, smashed concrete and mounds of dirt. A dog with



4,120

Number of Rio families moved from their homes for the Olympics

4.5%

Year-over-year drop in Brazil's GDP in the third quarter of 2015

\$11.5 billion

Estimated public spending on Summer Olympics venues and infrastructure in Rio

a bloodied, partially bitten-off ear scampers through the streets; people say he was the pet of a family who moved out. A nude doll sits atop a gutted wall. A rainy day turns streets into slop. "It looks like Afghanistan," says Maria De Loures da Silva, a Vila Autódromo resident.

It may seem surprising that anyone would choose to stay put in such conditions. Especially when the government is offering residents either cash compensation—Claudio says he's heard his plot of land is worth \$500,000—or relocation into government-sponsored housing in the area. Catalytic Communities—a Rio-based NGO that works with favelas—says that of the some 700 families that lived in Vila Autódromo before clearance began, around 40 remain. Why do they want to stay?

"When we got here, we had nothing," says one resident who's lived in the favela for 20 years and declined to give his name in fear of government retribution. "We developed this land." He points out at his house. "There are 72 truckloads of earth in here. This home is everything to me." While gangs still control many favelas, Vila Autódromo residents praise the safety of their community. "Nothing justifies me leaving here," says Sandra de Souza, who's raised four daughters, ranging in ages from 11 to 20, in Vila Autódromo. "I don't think the money they're offering is valid. It's dirty money."

IN VILA AUTÓDROMO, residents express their frustration through the graffiti scrawled all over shattered homes and the wall separating the Olympic construction zone from the neighborhood. *A BARRA C/ POBRES A POLITICIA SEM CORRUPÇÃO* (Barra [da Tijuca] with the poor, politics without corruption). *AS OLIMPIADAS PASSAM A JUSTICIA FICA SUJA* (The Olympics come, justice gets dirty). *NÃO SOMOS BOBOS! SABEMOS QUEM ESTÁ NA LUTA E QUEM ESTÁ AQUI POR DINHEIRO!* (We are not fools! We know who's with us and who's in it for the money!) *RIO DE JANEIRO NA LAMA* (Rio de Janeiro in the mud).

One message is scrawled in English, facing what used to be dozens of homes along the lagoon: **GAME OVER.**

Even an Olympic construction worker, who is benefiting from the burst of building, shares sympathy for the residents. "Brazil is a party," he says while sipping on a beer in front of an Autódromo shop during a break. "But Olympic money could have gone to improving education or improving security. They're taking away the homes of these humble people to make this event."

"When Rio got the Olympics, people in the favelas could feel change," says Theresa Williamson, executive director of Catalytic Communities and editor in chief of RioOnWatch.org, a community reporting site. "There was a strong sense of hope across all economic brackets. But since 2013, the mask has been taken off. It's become clear to many people that it was all a facade."

In response to questions about promises to incorporate Vila Autódromo into Olympic planning, the uses of the community's land before and after the Games, and the government's response to residents who say they just want to stay and be left alone, a city of Rio spokesperson sent an email. "The families who had to leave Vila Autódromo were either on the route of the public lanes under construction or in areas of environmental protection by the lagoon," the spokesperson wrote. The city government also noted that to resettle the residents, it built new housing—"with green areas, a swimming pool, a gourmet lounge, nursery and commercial space"—or offered compensation. "The negotiation process with the Vila Autódromo residents has always been transparent."

Delmo de Oliveira doesn't seem interested in any offers. As the Olympics encroach on his community, he pounds on a hammer while constructing an additional floor to his house. The city wants him out; de Oliveira doubles down. "If I leave now, how am I going to live?" de Oliveira says. "I have no other choice." He says he won't consider compensation. "They're not trying to buy my house," says de Oliveira. "They're trying to buy my dignity." *NEM TODOS TEM UM PREÇO*, reads a sign on the side of his house.

Translation: Not everyone has a price. □



THE CURIOUS CAPITALIST

In Davos, taking bets on when the technology revolution will finally deliver enough jobs

By Rana Foroohar

NEARLY 30 YEARS AGO, ROBERT SOLOW, ONE OF THE world's pre-eminent labor economists, made a famous quip: "You can see the computer age everywhere but in the productivity statistics." Aside from being a prime example of what passes for humor among economists, the sentiment became known as Solow's paradox, the notion that even as technology progresses, productivity can lag behind. It's a paradox because, though we know technology improves productivity and greater productivity creates economic growth, we can't always measure the two working in tandem.

Solow's paradox was top of mind at this year's World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland, the annual con-fab of top politicians, chief executives, bankers and economists. Specifically: it is obvious that technology is changing nearly every aspect of our lives—from how individuals earn a paycheck to how states fight wars—so where exactly is the economic growth history tells us is our due?

INSTEAD OF BEING POISED to reap the rewards of a technological windfall, the world is increasingly bracing for what might be yet another global recession in 2016. Slowing growth in China, a flatlining Europe, plunging oil prices that are simultaneously decimating emerging markets and failing to provide the usual boost to richer countries—all of these things have added up to a perfect storm of global gloominess. Even the U.S., the would-be brightest spot in the world economy, is looking at GDP growth this year that may be considerably lower than the meager 2% once hoped for. Eight years on from the Great Recession, this is more than depressing for the U.S. policymakers who still vividly recall sweating through the near collapse of the global financial system in 2008.

This dreary scenario is unfolding in the midst of what the WEF crowd calls "the fourth industrial revolution." This encompasses a lot of the most exciting and promising technological innovations of our day in fields including artificial intelligence, machine learning, robotics, nanotechnology, 3-D printing, genetics and biotechnology. Not only are these areas evolving more quickly than ever before, but they overlap in ways that will disrupt the global economy, starting with labor markets. A report released by the WEF during the conference predicts that these trends, combined with other socioeconomic and demographic changes, will lead not to job growth but to a net loss of over 5 million jobs in 15 major developed and emerging economies by 2020.

The big question is whether this economic paradox will resolve itself over time, the way the last one did. Back in the mid-1980s, companies all over the world, but most notably in the U.S., began to invest heavily in new computer and software technologies. Personal computers were suddenly

REVOLUTIONS RECAP

**1784**

The first industrial revolution was characterized by mechanical production and steam power

**1870**

About 100 years later, mass-scale production and electrical power led to another leap forward

**1969**

The first message sent over Arpanet, the forerunner to today's Internet, opened the third industrial revolution

**Present**

The growing capability of artificial intelligence and Big Data represent, according to UBS, the basis for another era of change

everywhere, and companies like Microsoft boomed. Yet it took until the late 1990s for the economy as a whole to reap the benefits. A similar trend is in evidence today: people carry the power of several PCs in the smartphones they have in their pockets. Apps cost just a couple of bucks, compared with the hundreds of dollars it used to take to load a new PC with advanced software. And yet productivity is languishing. Since economic growth is basically just productivity combined with population growth, which is slowing in most parts of the world, we desperately need the fourth revolution to start showing some mojo.

Part of the problem is that this revolution has so far been mostly a consumer one. According to a recent McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) report, only about 18% of U.S. industries have fully embraced it. Everyone uses the Internet, but only a handful of sectors—media, financial services, IT—have leveraged digital technologies fully to grow their businesses. What's more, those industries aren't particularly large employers relative to less technologically advanced ones, like education, retail and manufacturing.

In fact, the least digitally savvy industries, including hospitality, health care and lower-end retail services, are currently the fastest job creators. Given that more digitally robust industries tend to create much higher-paying jobs, that's a bad formula for productivity, not to mention wage and economic growth. "We all use cool new technologies, and a handful of companies are making out like bandits on them, but we simply don't see the effects yet on productivity and growth across the board," says MGI director James Manyika.

Part of that is natural lag. It took the effects of electricity 50 years to trickle through the economy. The PC revolution took about a decade. The coming uptick may even happen a bit faster,



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given that companies are now facing pressure not just from within their industries but from outside them. The fourth industrial revolution is forcing companies to compete across sectors and increasingly across borders. Tesla and Google are impacting the long-range planning of Ford and General Motors, for instance. And globalization is being democratized as small and midsize companies use technology to compete with bigger peers abroad. App developers in West Africa can now sell their wares as easily as those in California.

But big, established industrial companies are still by far the world's largest employers. That's one reason everyone is watching General Electric's push into the industrial Internet, or the Internet of Things. Over the past several years, the 124-year-old firm has transformed itself by reclaiming its roots as an industrial innovator, placing a bet on the idea that like the U.S. in the postwar period, emerging markets will eventually go through a middle-class boom. GE is now focusing on growing transport, infrastructure, communications, construction and health care businesses. So far, that seems to be paying off.

THE VEXING PROBLEM with the lag is the effect on labor. Middle-income workers in particular have seen their wages flatten as technology moves higher and higher up the economic food chain. MGI estimates that this trend will actually accelerate in the coming decade as artificial intelligence does more of what people used to do. Current AI technologies can replace only about 5% of jobs, but they will significantly change the nature of the majority of them, meaning that companies and governments alike will have to spend

more money and time training workers of the future. Otherwise wages will continue to stagnate, as will economic demand. (In the U.S. and most other rich nations, consumer demand is the largest component of the economy.)

Likewise, inequality will grow. Among the flurry of white papers at Davos: Oxfam's report on the "economy for the 1%" noted that 62 of the world's richest people now hold as much wealth as half the planet. "The fourth industrial revolution, the Internet of Things—all that may create growth and prosperity in the long term, but in the short term, if you want growth, you've got to create more demand," says Manyika. Given that

there is only so much that the 1% can buy, that will require deep growth-bolstering changes in everything from tax codes and corporate governance to education and infrastructure. In short, the hard stuff.

All of those topics were much discussed at Davos. But the elites on the Magic Mountain don't have forever to act on them. One of the more disturbing surveys released was the annual Edelman Trust Barometer, a multi-country study in which tens of thousands of people were asked how much they trust government, business, non-governmental organizations and media to do what is right for populations as a whole. The survey showed a yawning gap of institutional trust between the world's best off and everyone else. While trust is rising among the educated elite, it's near record lows on much of Main Street. No wonder social unrest, populism and the politics of anger were also among the most discussed topics at Davos. As history unfortunately shows, there's no paradox at play when economic malaise generates more extremism, isolationism and volatility. □

GLOBAL CONFAB

The World Economic Forum opened Jan. 20 in Davos



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IN THE ARENA

The Democrats stumble toward 50 shades of socialism

By Joe Klein

A SPECTER IS HAUNTING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY—THE specter of socialism. A question is being asked, mostly by Republicans, but also by MSNBC's Chris Matthews: What is the difference between a Democrat and a Socialist? Debbie Wasserman Schultz got it last July and, ever the robotic partisan, answered by saying the more important difference was between Democrats and Republicans. Senator Chuck Schumer said it depended on how you define the two, and then refused to define the two. And, most significantly, Hillary Clinton said, "Well, I can tell you what I am ... I'm a progressive Democrat."

Now this is not a difficult question to answer. Webster's says socialism is "a social system or theory in which the government owns and controls the means of production." Democrats tend to believe in free enterprise. They think government should regulate the means of production, not own it. They have taken great pains to separate themselves from socialism, which has always been a poison word in American politics. And yet, according to a recent Des Moines *Register* poll, 43% of Iowa Democrats describe themselves as socialists. What gives?

Well, they're not really socialists. They're European-style social democrats, who believe in a robust redistribution of wealth ("from each according to her ability, to each according to his need") and government control of some of the means of production—like the health care system. The question of how much government should redistribute has been the central argument in American politics since the passage of the graduated income tax in 1913. Even the vast majority of Republicans believe in Social Security and Medicare.

SO WE'RE TALKING about 50 shades of socialism here, but the gradations are still important. Take health care: Bernie Sanders is proposing socialized medicine, and Hillary Clinton isn't. The majority of Americans get their health insurance from their employers through private insurance companies. It's a clunky system, and Sanders wants to eliminate the middlemen—the insurance companies. Clinton believes government should help those who can't get insurance through their employers—the poor (Medicaid), the working poor (Obamacare), the elderly (Medicare). There couldn't be a clearer difference between liberalism and socialism, and yet Clinton refused to describe it that way in the Jan. 17 presidential debate; in fact, she empretzeled herself with a weak attack on Sanders, saying his plan would jeopardize the advances that Obamacare has brought. Her campaign has charged that Sanders would raise taxes on the middle class to pay for it. (True, but he'd eliminate insurance premiums—a net gain.) In fact, the best argument against Sanders' health plan is the essential case against socialism—which Clinton's supporters raised after the debate—and its next of kin, redistributionism: it dampens

incentives, which dampens creativity, which leads to poverty. It is the difference between the "fairer" but more lugubrious European economies and our riskier but more dynamic way of doing business. At their best, Democrats are like European conservatives, leaning toward more fairness and wary of government control.

Sanders is in favor of some very good things, like breaking up the big banks. (There are even fastidious conservatives who agree with him because of the "moral hazard" involved.) His notion of a tax on hyperspeculative Wall Street gaming would be a more effective reform than the bramble of incomprehensible regulations comprised in the Dodd-Frank bill. His support for huge infrastructure spending is good too; it would make our free market more efficient and provide some nice muscle work for less-educated laborers. But each of those ideas is more "progressive" than "socialist."

IT IS STILL far more likely that Clinton wins the Democratic nomination than Sanders—but even Bernie should worry about his party strolling into the general election unwilling to distinguish itself from socialism. Indeed, the Democrats should worry about their attachment to big government, which, in America, has come to mean more unaccountable bureaucracy, like the Department of Veterans Affairs; more inefficiency, like the weird tangle of federal job-training programs, each more irrelevant than the last; and more perverse incentives, like welfare programs that ask for nothing—no personal responsibility—in return from their recipients. Big government is the way I was treated at the post office this afternoon.

So we have this strange election: Republicans race toward know-nothing nativism, and Democrats stumble toward socialism. Both are reactionary, discredited ideas. I want my country back! □

DEFINING TERMS



'Almost everything [Franklin Roosevelt] proposed was called "socialist." I thought I would mention that just in passing.'
—BERNIE SANDERS

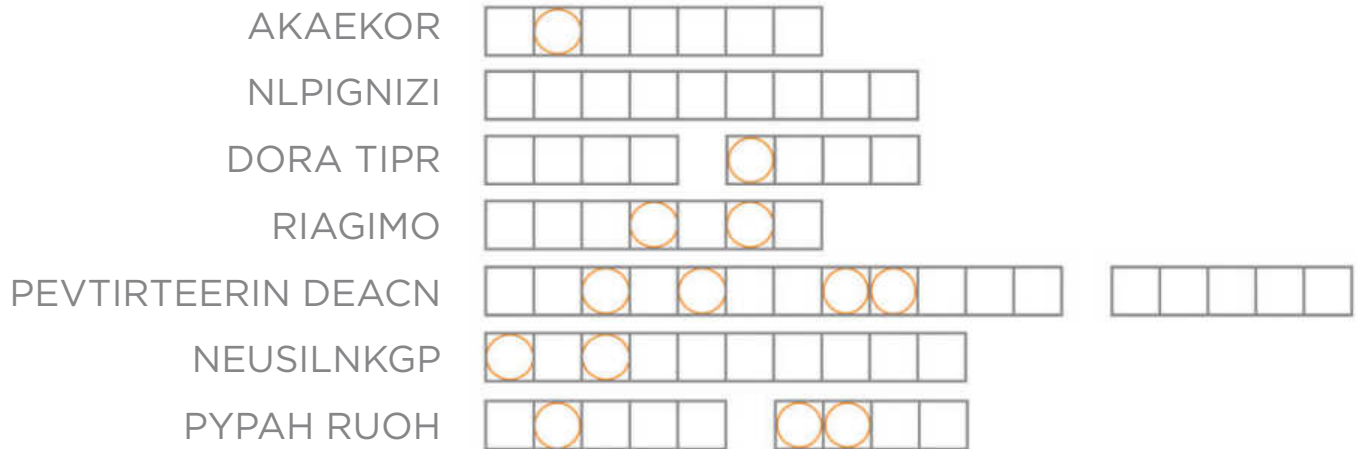


'When I think about capitalism, I think about all the small businesses that were started because we have all the opportunity and the freedom in our country.'
—HILLARY CLINTON



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Lee-Anne Walters says she will never use tap water again. At her Flint home she warms bottled water for her sons' weekly baths

PHOTOGRAPH BY RYAN GARZA

A young boy with dark hair, wearing a red t-shirt with a graphic, is looking up at a white water filter pitcher. The pitcher has a green label that says "WATER". The background shows a kitchen with wooden cabinets and a tiled floor.

THE *TOXIC* TAP

HOW A DISASTROUS CHAIN OF
EVENTS CORRODED FLINT'S WATER SYSTEM—
AND THE PUBLIC TRUST

BY JOSH SANBURN / FLINT, MICH.



LaShanti Redmond, 10, has her lead level checked during an event at a local school



THE FIRST THING many residents noticed after water from the Flint River began flowing through their taps was the color. Blue one day, tinted green the next, sometimes shades of beige, brown, yellow. Then there was the smell. It was ripe and pungent—some likened it to gasoline, others to the inside of a fish market. After a couple of months, Melissa Mays, a 37-year-old mother of four, says her hair started to fall out in clumps, clogging the shower drain. She broke out in rashes and developed a respiratory infection, coughing up phlegm that tasted like cleaning products.

Mays wasn't alone. Since April 2014, when Flint began drawing its water from the local river instead of buying Lake Huron water from Detroit—in order to save money—residents in this ailing industrial city began complaining of burning skin, hand tremors, hair loss, even seizures. Children were being diagnosed with anemia. Parents were finding strange red splotches on their hands and faces.

Yet for almost 19 months, as Flint River water corroded the city's decades-old pipes and leached lead into the sinks and showers of a city of almost 100,000 people, officials repeatedly told residents the water was fine. Flint's mayor appeared in front of TV cameras and gulped it down. A spokesman for the state's top environmental regulator said anyone concerned about the water should "relax." A warning memo written by a specialist at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency went unheeded, and a city council vote to return the city to Detroit's supply was overruled by an unelected emergency manager

EFFECTS OF LEAD IN THE BODY

1

HARM TO THE BLOOD

Lead is first absorbed into the blood, where it interferes with proper function. For kids, experts say no level is safe.

2

DAMAGE TO THE BRAIN

Lead exposure is very dangerous for kids under age 6, since it impacts their rapidly growing brains. IQ and ability to pay attention can be affected.

appointed by the governor. It wasn't until late September 2015, when researchers at Hurley Medical Center in Flint reported that the incidence of lead contamination in the blood of children under 5 had doubled since the switch, that officials began to acknowledge the scope of the crisis.

Since then, an emergency that had been brewing largely out of sight has erupted into a national concern. Presidential candidates from both parties have been asked about it on the campaign trail. Senator Bernie Sanders called for Michigan Governor Rick Snyder, a Republican, to resign, while his Democratic rival Hillary Clinton framed it as a matter of race and inequality at the latest Democratic debate. "We've had a city in the United States of America where the population, which is poor in many ways and majority African American, has been drinking and bathing in lead-contaminated water," Clinton said Jan. 17. "I'll tell you what—if the kids in a rich suburb of Detroit had been drinking contaminated water and being bathed in it there would've been action."

President Obama weighed in during a visit to Detroit on Jan. 20. "I know that if I was a parent up there, I would be beside myself that my kids' health could be at risk," he said. "It is a reminder of why you can't shortchange basic services that we provide to our people."

Over the past month, the wheels of government, which had barely turned for over a year, creaked into action. On Jan. 12, seven days after declaring a state of emergency, Snyder mobilized the National Guard to patrol the city and hand out water.



Construction on a new pipeline to connect Flint to Lake Huron water



Governor Rick Snyder was contrite in a statewide address on Jan. 19

Four days later, President Obama designated Flint as a federal emergency area and freed \$5 million in aid. And on Jan. 20, as calls for him to resign over his handling of the crisis grew louder, Snyder used his State of the State address to announce that he was seeking \$28 million in state funding for Flint while offering a belated apology. “Government failed you,” Snyder said. “I am sorry, and I will fix it.”

To the residents of Flint, the sudden attention does little to offset more than a year’s worth of neglect. High levels of lead can lead to developmental problems and brain damage, and children under the age of 6 are considered especially vulnerable. Local cases of Legionnaires’ disease, a potentially deadly form of pneumonia, spiked after Flint switched its water supply. Ten of the 87 sickened people died, and health officials are now investigating a link between the outbreak and the river water. And though the city returned to Detroit’s water supply in October, the lead pipes remain so corroded that officials say the water is still unsafe to drink. A decision made to save money has crippled the city’s aging infrastructure and potentially poisoned a generation of kids. “We’re not a third-world country,” says Flint resident Tonya Burns. “Water is a natural right.”

How can government fail at a job so fundamental we take it as a given? The answer is a disastrous combination of bad policy, shortsighted decisions and bureaucratic malfeasance. Added up, the chain of neglect and incompetence has led many in Flint to see something more sinister: an absence of democracy. The city that gave birth to General Motors

3

LONG-TERM BUILDUP

Chronic exposure to lead can lead to accumulations in organs and bones. The metal can remain in bones for years after exposure.

4

INSIDIOUS UPTAKE

If a person’s diet is low in calcium or iron, the body may confuse lead for those nutrients and absorb it instead. A healthy diet helps.

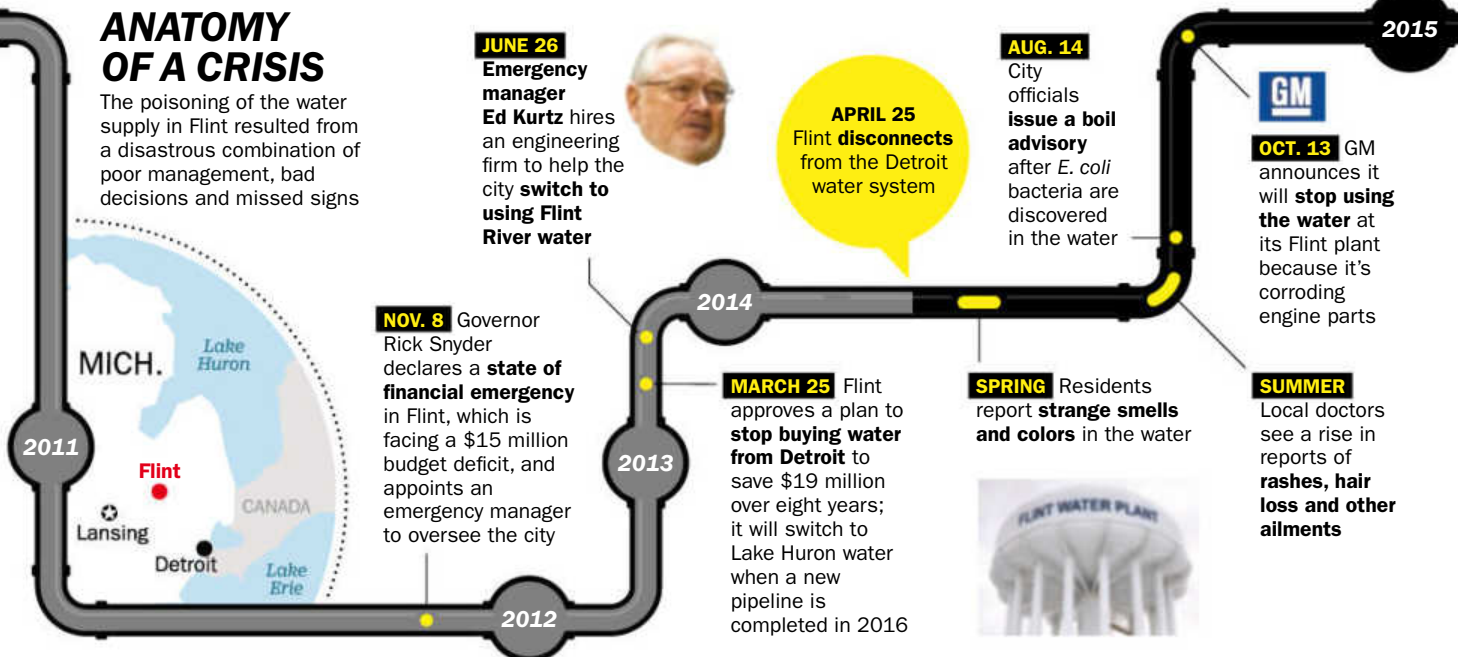
has fallen so far through the cracks that it feels as if the rest of the country has left it behind. The median income is less than \$25,000—roughly half the state average. Predominantly Democratic and African American, over 60% of Flint and the surrounding Genesee County voted for Snyder’s opponent in 2014. And since 2011, it has largely been run by a series of unelected emergency managers appointed by Snyder. These managers, whose authority supersedes that of local elected officials, made critical decisions that helped bring on the water crisis and make it worse. “We’re poor,” says John Pemberton, 67, a Flint resident. “And because we don’t have anybody on our side that has any clout, Snyder didn’t care.”

Dr. Mona Hanna-Attisha, a Flint pediatrician whose research confirmed the rising lead levels, has since been praised for her work, with Snyder calling her out by name in his State of the State. But she is unsparing in her diagnosis of what went wrong: “They were being neglected,” she says at her office in Hurley’s children’s ward. “Moms were complaining. People were going to town-hall meetings and getting arrested. But nobody listened to them. It had to take evidence that children were being poisoned for people to listen, and that is too late.”

THE CITY’S BORN-AND-BRED residents—who sometimes call themselves “Flintstones”—can still remember when Flint was not just a thriving city but a place where the American Dream took root. The reason is printed on the signs that still arch above Saginaw Street, which crosses the winding yellow-

ANATOMY OF A CRISIS

The poisoning of the water supply in Flint resulted from a disastrous combination of poor management, bad decisions and missed signs



ish-green Flint River: FLINT, VEHICLE CITY. Over a century ago, General Motors started here. Buick and Chevrolet once called the city home, as did a range of related industries whose factories dotted the banks of the river. A strike in the 1930s gave birth to the United Auto Workers—and jump-started the modern labor union in the U.S.

But as automobile-manufacturing jobs moved overseas, Flint began a slow decline into the 21st century. By 2011, the city's population was 100,000, half of what it was at its peak in 1960. With jobs scarce and better-off families escaping to the suburbs, Flint's tax base hollowed out. Facing \$15 million in debt, in 2011, Snyder appointed the first of four emergency managers to effectively run the city.

One idea for how Flint could save money was water. Since the 1960s, Flint had been buying its water from Detroit. But the Motor City was facing problems similar to Flint's, and Detroit officials began raising the rates they charged other municipalities for water. From 2004 to 2013, the amount Flint paid for its water almost doubled. In April 2013, the Flint city council voted to switch its water source to the Karegnondi Water Authority (KWA), a new regional pipeline project that would connect Flint directly with nearby Lake Huron. City officials projected that it would save Flint \$19 million over eight years. But there were two problems: the pipeline wouldn't be built until 2016, and Detroit quickly retaliated by saying it would stop selling water to Flint by April 2014.

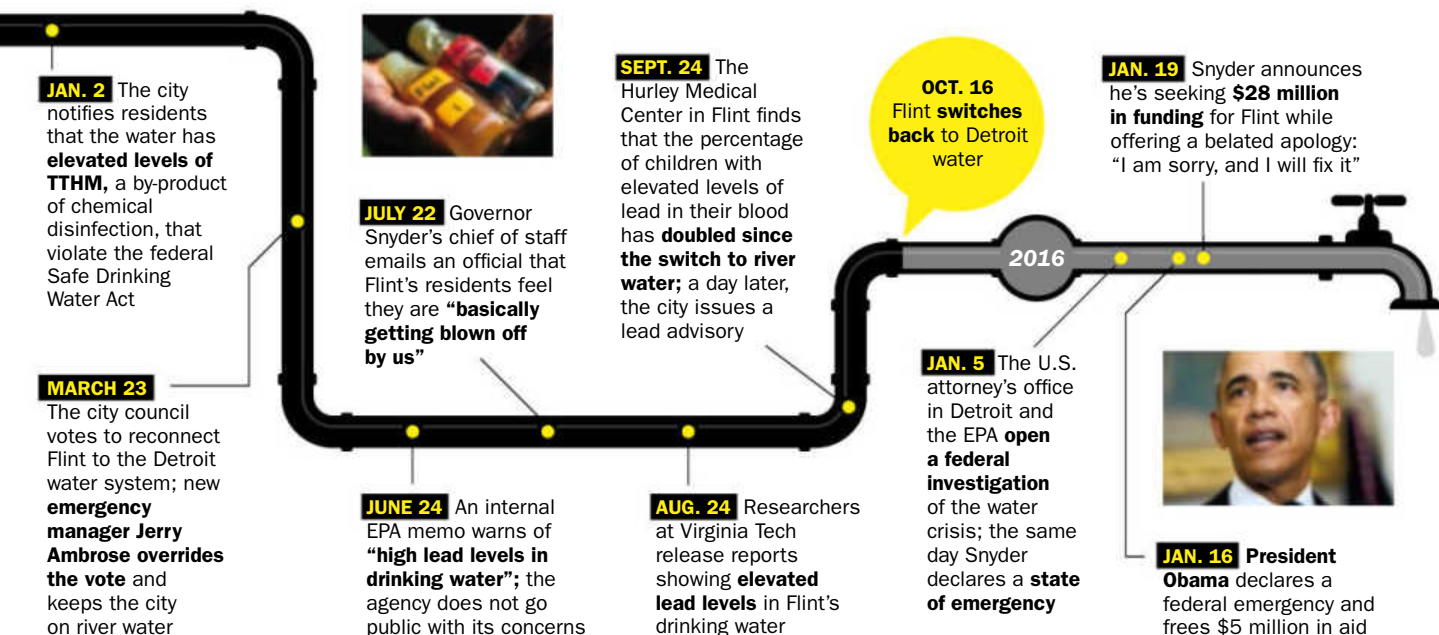
The question soon became where Flint would get its water in the meantime. Dayne Walling, the mayor at the time, and state representative Sheldon Neeley, then a city-council member, say the idea to use

the river as an interim source originated with emergency manager Ed Kurtz. (Kurtz did not respond to requests for comment.) What is clear is that in June 2013, two months after the city voted to join the KWA project, Kurtz signed a contract to set in motion using the Flint River as the primary source for municipal water. There was no public referendum or city-council vote. Still, the switch to the Flint River was celebrated by many local leaders. On April 25, 2014, city and state officials toasted with glasses of Flint River water as Walling hit a button officially shutting off Detroit's water. "This is indeed the best choice for the city of Flint going forward," Darnell Earley, the city's emergency manager from September 2013 to January 2015—he succeeded Kurtz—reportedly said at the time. "The water quality speaks for itself."

As Flint's leaders cheered their fiscal prudence, the chain of events they had set in motion began to wreak havoc on the city's aging water-delivery system. Water from the Flint River has particularly high levels of chloride, a substance so corrosive that its presence in road salts leads cars to rust. Most municipalities, including Detroit, add a chemical to help offset this corrosion. Yet despite having eight times as much chloride in it than Detroit water, the Flint River water was not treated with a corrosion inhibitor. As the water passed through the city's aging lead pipes, it absorbed the toxin into the supply.

It wasn't long before residents noticed a difference. "When they changed, almost immediately the taste, the odor, the color were different," says Jackie Pemberton, John's wife.

Four months into the switch, the city detected *E. coli* in the water and advised residents to boil it be-



fore consuming it. Soon, schools began buying bottled water in bulk. By October 2014, the water was so corrosive that GM announced it would no longer use municipal water at a local plant because it was damaging engine parts.

Still, the crisis stretched on as officials stone-walled citizens' complaints. In January 2015, Lee-Anne Walters asked the city to test the orange-brown water coming from her tap. The results showed that her home had far exceeded the acceptable levels of lead. Yet the official line remained that Flint's water was safe and any problems were isolated and not part of a systemic failure. Walters says the city told her they would shut off her water and hook her house up to a neighbor's via a garden hose as a workaround. As more citizens began to voice complaints, Jerry Ambrose, who had replaced Earley as Flint's emergency manager, argued that there was no need to revert to Detroit's water and besides, doing so would bankrupt the city.

Walters persisted. Bypassing the state, she contacted the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, which tested her water and found even higher lead levels: 13,200 parts per billion, according to an EPA report. The federally accepted action level is 15. "I was at disbelief at that point," Walters says. "Not only were they fighting this at every twist and turn, but there was hazardous waste coming into my home."

The staggering results prompted Miguel Del Toral, an EPA water specialist, to send a memo to his boss and copy officials at the Michigan department of environmental quality (DEQ). His message was stark: Flint's water contained toxic levels of lead because the state had failed to ensure it was properly treated for corrosion. Despite telling the EPA that it

had a plan to limit corrosion, the DEQ apparently had none—a lack of safeguards virtually unheard of for any American city.

Instead of acting on Del Toral's memo, however, the EPA stayed quiet about its concerns, opting instead to pressure state officials behind the scenes. The decision backfired in a major way. The DEQ refused to acknowledge any risks to Flint's water supply, and an agency spokesman dismissed Del Toral to NPR as a "rogue employee." The EPA did not respond to requests for comment on its handling of the case.

Without the threat of exposure by the EPA, Michigan environmental officials used their own investigations to downplay concerns. Citing Walters' use of a water filter, DEQ officials disqualified the results from her home, even though the filter was removed during the test and in any event presumably would have lowered, rather than elevated, her lead levels.

The DEQ is "supposed to be the check on the city's decision," says Marc Edwards, a professor of environmental science at Virginia Tech whose research confirmed the elevated lead in Flint's water. "Once they started making the decisions, there was no check and balance left except for the residents fighting for the truth."

Not all officials were ignoring the problem. After meeting with Mays, who had become an outspoken activist, Snyder's then chief of staff, Dennis Muchmore, sent an email to state health officials saying that Flint residents felt as if they were "basically getting blown off by us."

In an interview in his Lansing office on Jan. 14, as protesters marched outside, Snyder said the email shows that his administration was not neglecting the city and Muchmore was "concerned that we were

UNELECTED LEADERS

The state's emergency-management law gives the governor's appointee sole decisionmaking power on budget issues in cities like Flint

THE GOVERNOR'S INBOX

Amid criticism of his handling of the crisis, Governor Snyder released his emails related to Flint's water on Jan. 20

getting straight answers so he asked tough questions and he got answers." Yet the governor didn't take any action until outside researchers got involved.

That began in August, when Walters contacted Edwards, who had done research exposing dangerously elevated lead levels in Washington, D.C., in the early 2000s. Edwards soon found levels of lead in Flint's water far beyond what the state was admitting. Soon after, Dr. Hanna-Attisha began running her own numbers on blood lead levels of children after hearing the city didn't have corrosion control in place. She found that the percentage of children in Flint with lead poisoning had doubled since 2013 and even tripled in some neighborhoods.

Within a week, Genesee County issued a public-health emergency and asked residents not to drink the water, marking the first official public acknowledgment that Flint's water supply had been poisoned.

FOR MANY OUTRAGED by the crisis in Flint, all roads lead to Lansing. For almost five years, Flint has been effectively run by a series of unelected officials appointed by the governor. In Michigan, the cities that are often under emergency management—like Detroit, Pontiac and Highland Park—have been predominantly African American in a state that is only 14% black. This has led to allegations of racism—an ongoing federal lawsuit contends that the state's emergency-management law violates the Voting Rights Act—and created the impression among many residents that if a lead outbreak had occurred in a more affluent and whiter city, the state would have responded with more urgency.

"The state was in charge of the city," says Eric Scorsone, a professor of government at Michigan State University and an expert in the state's emergency-management law. "So the state kind of has to own the problem."

In December, a task force appointed by Snyder chastised the DEQ for its actions, saying the department failed to properly interpret the federal rule that designated acceptable lead levels while failing to require corrosion-control treatment for Flint River water. Following the report, DEQ director Dan Wyant resigned.

Kevin Creagh, the new director of the DEQ, says

River." Mayor Dayne Walling invited everyone at today's event to toast to Flint's water. "It's regular, good, pure drinking water, and it's right in our backyard," said Mayor Walling. "this is the first step in the right direction for Flint, as we take this monumental step forward in controlling the future of our community's most precious resource."

April 25, 2014, **FROM: DAYNE WALLING, THEN MAYOR**
In a press release, the mayor's office marks the switch to Flint River water

- The quality of Flint water has been a high-profile concern in recent weeks, with residents complaining about the color, taste and smell of tap water since a switch to Flint River water as a temporary source as a pipeline is built to Lake Huron as a water source starting in 2015.
 - Residents have attended meetings with jugs of brownish water.
 - U.S. Kildee has worked with labor and community groups to distribute bottled water.

Feb. 1, 2015, **FROM: DAVID MURRAY, GOVERNOR'S AIDE**
Murray sent bullet points for a briefing in advance of an event related to the water issue

The issue of Flint water and its quality continues to be a challenging topic. The switch over to use Flint river water has spurred most of the controversy and contention. The DEQ and DCH feel that some in Flint are taking the very sensitive issue of children's exposure to lead and trying to turn it into a political football claiming the departments are underestimating the impacts on the populations and particularly trying to shift responsibility to the state.

We have put an incredible amount of time and effort into this issue because of the impacted neighbors and their children, and the KWA/DWSD controversy and Dillon's involvement in the final decision. Kildee is asking for a call with you. That's tricky because he's sure to use it publicly, but if you don't talk with him it will just fan the narrative that the state is ducking responsibility. I can't figure out why the state is responsible except that Dillon did make the ultimate decision so we're not able to avoid the subject.

Sept. 25, 2015, **FROM: DENNIS MUCHMORE, THEN SNYDER'S CHIEF OF STAFF**
Excerpt from an email titled "Flint water"

It seems that continuing to find funds to buy local residents home filters is really a viable option and Harvey and all are pursuing more assistance in that work. Almost all the "experts" I've talked to are convinced the problem is in the old lines leading to homes and short of a massive replacement CSO type bond that wouldn't resolve the issue for a couple of years, nature (temp reductions), filters and a final connect seem to be the best courses of action.

The residents are caught in a swirl of misinformation and long term distrust of local government unlikely to be resolved.

Sept. 26, 2015, **FROM: MUCHMORE**
Excerpt from an email titled "Flint updates"

My responses, enclosed here, are an effort to acknowledge something that has come out in the past week through internal review. Simply said, our staff believed they were constrained by two consecutive six-month tests. We followed and defended that protocol. I believe now we made a mistake. For communities with a population above 50,000, optimized corrosion control should have been required from the beginning.

Oct. 18, 2015, **FROM: DAN WYANT, THEN DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY**
An email accompanying the DEQ's response to the Detroit News for a story on Flint's water crisis

On Oct 21, 2015, at 7:38 AM, Snyder, Rick (GOV)

She claimed that two Flint children were in critical condition over lead. Her source was Rev. Bullock. I said I wasn't aware of that and that all of the identified children were being tracked by public health officials. Please check on the status of children with higher level of lead.

Thanks
Rick

Oct. 21, 2015, **FROM: SNYDER**
The governor was writing Sara Wurfel, at the time his press secretary

the agency was trying to act within technical compliance of its own internal regulations when it threw out samples like Walters' high lead levels instead of stepping back and looking at whether there was a systemwide failure. "I think there was some tone-deafness," he says.

Virginia Tech's Edwards believes that the agency was trying to simply wait out the switch over to the Karegnondi Water Authority and Lake Huron. "They didn't see the point in doing their job until that time," he says, adding that the corrosion control needed for Flint would have cost roughly \$80 to \$100 a day. "That was their whole attitude. Let's run out the clock." (DEQ officials were unavailable to comment.)

As the crisis turned into a political firestorm, Snyder, a former accountant who was elected on a promise of "relentless positive action," has tried to regain control. "As soon as I became aware of elevated lead levels in blood, we took action," Snyder told TIME. He denies knowing anything about lead levels before October, when the Michigan department of health and human services confirmed what Hanna-Attisha had found in children's blood levels, despite the fact that his former chief of staff had met with angry Flint residents in July. "I knew there were water issues in Flint," Snyder says. "But did I know there were unsafe blood levels? No."

Earning back the trust of city residents may prove impossible. Three class-action lawsuits have already been filed against state and city officials, and the U.S. attorney's office in Detroit has opened an investigation. But the legal issues are minor compared with the unknown future that many parents and their children face: years of anxious waiting to find out whether their child has developmental issues—simply because of turning on the faucet.

Ariana Hawk, 25, says she is terrified that's what's happening to her 2-year-old son Sincere Smith. He suffers from a full-body rash Hawk says is due to bathing in the tap water. "Every time he gets into contact with the water, he's burning and itching," she says. Hawk said a doctor advised her to stop using the city water. The family is awaiting the results of a test for lead poisoning, which has been detected in 35 children under 6 in Flint since October.

Other residents are trying to minimize the risk, however late. After one of her 5-year-old twin boys was found to have elevated levels of lead in his blood and developed anemia, Walters and her family now spend most of their time in Virginia. But even there, hundreds of miles from Flint, she won't trust what's coming out of her taps.

"We still don't drink the water," Walters says. "We still have a five-minute shower limit, even in Virginia. I will never again drink water from a water source because we're told to. Never again." —*With reporting by SEAN GREGORY AND ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN/NEW YORK* █

VIEWPOINT

'THIS IS A RACIAL CRIME'

By Michael Moore

The people of my hometown, Flint, Mich., are being poisoned. Let me not mince words: This is a racial crime. If it were happening in another country, we'd call it an ethnic cleansing. Flint is a very poor, majority African-American city, and the Republican governor of Michigan, Rick Snyder, knows they have no political power, no lobbyists, no money. And they didn't vote for him. So when the residents of Flint, many of whom work two or three jobs for minimum wage, complained about the levels of lead in their water and told the governor their children were getting sick—two years ago!—he didn't have to listen.

Everybody knows that this would not have happened in predominantly white Michigan cities like West Bloomfield, or Grosse Pointe, or Ann Arbor. Everybody knows that if there had been

two years of taxpayer complaints, and then a year of warnings from scientists and doctors, this would have been fixed in those towns.

This started when the governor turned Flint's authority over to an "emergency manager," ostensibly to fix the city's finances. In order to save a few million dollars, the manager and the governor's office came up with the bright idea to unhook the city's water supply from Lake Huron and tap into the Flint River.

In the 20th century,

General Motors made Flint the ultimate company town, and over the next 100 years the Flint River was turned into a sewer. Environmental experts warned the political leaders of the dangers of using the Flint River as a water source. They didn't listen.

So here we are. People need to stop saying that Flint was using Detroit's water. It was pure water from Lake Huron, the third largest body of freshwater in the world. A toxic water crisis is the last thing that should happen here.

The American middle class was built in Flint. Our grandparents knew that if they worked hard and the company prospered, they prospered. That was the American Dream, and it spread from Flint to the rest of the nation. Then around 1980, General Motors, a company that was making billions, figured out that it could make even more money by sending jobs to the nonunion South or overseas. This halved Flint's population and brought along unemployment, poverty, alcoholism, broken families and other ills. The crime rate skyrocketed. Wall Street came in and cut Flint's credit rating, making it impossible for Flint to recover, to attract jobs, to fix its infrastructure and schools. Flint went through a three-decade economic and social assault. Those who could get off the sinking ship—myself included—escaped. And those who were abandoned and left behind? They got their water poisoned. And when the governor found out, he kept quiet and let the poor of Flint continue drinking the poison. Marie Antoinette would've been proud. Except this time, no one offered any cake. "Let them drink the Flint River" has such a nice ring.



Moore in 1989 at the old office of the newspaper he founded, the Flint Voice

Moore is a filmmaker whose work includes *Roger & Me*, a 1989 documentary about Flint

Fear and Loathing

A SCANDAL OVER SEXUAL ASSAULTS BY MIGRANTS EXPOSES THE CHALLENGE OF INTEGRATING REFUGEES IN EUROPE
BY SIMON SHUSTER/COLOGNE, GERMANY



Protesters from the far-right, anti-migrant Pegida movement march in a rally in the German city of Leipzig on Jan. 11



ANTIFASCHISTENFEST
ERDVERWACHSEN
PEGIDA HANNOVER
NIEDERSACHSEN



1956 1986 2010

ENTGEGEN
GEGEN
DEN!
A



The violence in Germany on New Year's Eve was not the type that Europe has learned to anticipate. There was no extremist cell behind it, no smuggled assault rifles, nothing of the sort authorities expected when they evacuated train stations in Munich that night and canceled the

fireworks displays in Paris and Brussels. Instead there were gangs of men, many of them drunk, nearly all from North Africa or the Middle East, who went around groping, robbing and sexually assaulting hundreds of women in Cologne and other European cities. There has been nothing to suggest their motive was to terrorize the broader public. But that is exactly what their crimes have done.

In some ways they succeeded where recent terror plots have failed. November's attacks in Paris, where 130 people were killed by ISIS militants, chiefly focused European anger on the jihadists themselves and the ideology that inspired them. In Europe—if not in the U.S.—attempts to link the ISIS attackers to the hundreds of thousands of Muslims seeking refuge on the continent mostly failed. “Simply sealing ourselves off will not solve the problem,” German Chancellor Angela Merkel said in the aftermath of Paris, making it clear that her country's open-door policy to threatened Middle Eastern refugees would continue.

But the outrage that followed New Year's Eve in Cologne has spread far beyond the ring of attackers. It has brought into the open many of Europe's muffled fears about migration—the fear of cultures colliding, of mobs overwhelming police, of tolerance opening the doors to misogyny.

So far the authorities in Germany have disclosed only the nationalities of 32 suspects—including 22 asylum seekers, mostly from Morocco and Algeria—out of the hundreds of men who ran riot that night. With no way to identify or catch them all, even liberal Europeans have settled their suspicions on stereotypes of dangerous male migrants from alien cultures. “A lot of people feel tricked,” says Kristina Koch, who has housed refugees in her apartment in Cologne. “People are asking themselves, ‘Is this who I donated clothes to? A bunch of criminals?’”

FOR MERKEL, who welcomed more than a million asylum seekers into Germany last year, the new year was to mark the moment her government was finally getting a grip on the migration debate. Surveys showed that half the country supported her policy at the end of last year, and Merkel's approval ratings had stabilized after plummeting from 75% in April to 49% in November. On New Year's Eve, she went on television to deliver her greeting to the nation, and for the first time it aired with Arabic and English subtitles so that asylum seekers could understand her plea to embrace German values and traditions. “This applies to everyone who wants to live here,” she said.

The violence in Cologne unfolded just as that speech went to air, and Merkel would reportedly say later that it had the impact of “a bombshell.” In front of the city's majestic cathedral, packs of young men were shooting fireworks at one another and into the crowd, stoking panic. On the opposite side of the square, a crush had formed at the entrance to Cologne's main train station, and inside it the din was intense enough to drown out cries of distress. “Police were just standing and doing nothing,” says Wessam al-Hallak, a 29-year-old refugee from Damascus who was on the square that night. “Even for me, as a man, it was terrifying.”

For the women it was unimaginably worse. More than 650 were assaulted or robbed that night in Cologne, and roughly half of those victims suffered sexual violence. Apparently fearing a backlash against migrants, and eager to avoid criticism of their failure to keep order around the square, police initially reported that the night's festivities were “relaxed.” The city's police chief was forced to step down on Jan. 8 after victims' accounts began appearing in the German media. “They were full of anger,” an 18-year-old named Michelle said on national television of her attackers. “And

we had to make sure that none of us were pulled away by them.”

Details followed in police reports, describing women “grabbed by breasts and bottoms” and “fingers inserted in vagina” as victims had their underwear torn from their bodies. “After the excesses of alcohol and drugs came the excesses of violence,” Ralf Jäger, the interior minister in the region of North-Rhine Westphalia, which includes Cologne, told a session of the regional parliament on Jan. 12. The violence peaked “with people who carried out fantasies of sexual power.”

It would normally have been taboo for German officials and media to draw such an explicit link between migration and crime—especially one that plays on hoary stereotypes of Muslim men preying on European women. But that link has become a national obsession since New Year's Eve, especially in North-Rhine Westphalia, which took in 21% of Germany's new arrivals in 2015, more than any other region by far. Police in Cologne, the region's biggest city, have released statistics suggesting that 40% of migrants from North Africa have run-ins with the law, usually involving theft, within one year of arriving in Germany. Of all the crimes that police in Cologne investigated last year, 10% involved migrants, up from 8.8% in 2014. Norbert Wagner, a senior law-enforcement official in the city, called the uptick “particularly stark.”

But it doesn't seem all that stark in the context of Cologne's diversity: more than a third of the city's population had migrant backgrounds even before the latest influx. For asylum seekers from Syria and Afghanistan, who made up the majority of last year's arrivals, the crime rates seem minuscule: less than 1% of them were arrested in the 12 months ending in October. As the *Bild* newspaper noted in reporting these statistics, “The great mass of refugees has no criminal record.”

Still, the image of asylum seekers has been undeniably tainted. “People look at me different now, like I'm a problem,” says Mohamed Hamdan, who arrived in Germany two months ago from Lebanon with his wife and two children. “You can see the difference in the eyes.” In one nationwide survey published on Jan. 15, a third of respondents said the attacks in Cologne had “substantially changed” their attitude toward refugees. For the first time, a solid

majority of Germans in that poll—60%—said the nation cannot handle the influx.

This shift could spell the end of the *Willkommenskultur*, or “welcome culture,” that much of the nation embraced so eagerly just a few months ago. Migrant shelters around the country were inundated with so many donations and volunteers in the fall that organizers often had to tell people to stop. In posh quarters of Berlin, Hamburg and other cities, it was common for wealthy Germans to invite refugees to stay in their homes.

The outpouring of hospitality was above all else an emotional reaction, even a naive one. It wasn’t the sheer numbers of the historic migrant crisis—more than 60 million people displaced from their homes, according to the U.N.—that moved Germans and other Europeans. It was the single stories, the unforgettable images, like the face of Laith Majid, a Syrian refugee who was photographed weeping and clutching his children as their boat came ashore on a Greek island, or the lifeless body of Alan Kurdi, the Syrian toddler photographed lying face down on a Turkish beach after a failed attempt to make the same crossing.

Yet emotions are nothing if not changeable. The number of migrants who entered Germany last year is roughly equal to the population of Cologne, the nation’s fourth largest city. The migrants have kept coming even through the winter months, more than 3,000 arriving in Europe each day, most of them headed to Germany. The demands of providing food and shelter for all of them, not to mention language and integration courses, have been overwhelming. As the euphoria of *Willkommenskultur* faded and the gravity of the crisis hit home, Germans were primed for another emotional reaction, one based on fears that the patriarchal Middle Eastern values of the newcomers—especially around sex and gender equality—would prove incompatible with liberal German ones.

Merkel’s faith in European solidarity now seems no less naive. The quota system she urged the E.U. to adopt last fall

*Merkel confers with
Christoph Heusgen,
her adviser on foreign
and security affairs,
on Jan. 14*



Number of asylum applications
filed to European countries



*DATA FOR SOME
COUNTRIES IS INCOMPLETE

sought to oblige member states to share the burden of accommodating 160,000 asylum seekers. It was a modest number, roughly equal to one month of arrivals. But it still proved too much for countries like Hungary and Slovakia, which not only refused to comply but also challenged the legality of the quota system in the European Court of Justice. Several other E.U. members, including Estonia, Bulgaria and the Czech Republic, have suggested that they would take only Christian refugees. So far, roughly 300 asylum seekers have been relocated under the quota system, out of at least 1.2 million who applied for asylum across the E.U. last year.

The task of integrating the vast majority of Europe’s asylum seekers has thus fallen to Germany and, to a lesser extent, Sweden, which has taken in more migrants per capita than any other European nation. The failure of most other member states to follow suit has revealed a Europe less united than it thought. The clearest illustration of that has appeared on national borders, where each country along the migrant route from Hungary to Austria, Germany, Denmark and Sweden has reinstated passport checks for travelers.

These supposedly temporary measures were meant to control the flow of migrants through Europe. But in the process these states have suspended the core E.U. principle of free travel for its citizens, codified in the Schengen Agreement. Abandoning that principle would mark the “beginning of the end of the European project,” Dimitris Avramopoulos, the E.U.’s migration commissioner, told European lawmakers on Jan. 14. “Europe is at a crossroads,” he continued. “Our task is not to fuel fear or backtrack and water down our goals. Our task and our responsibility is to show the way, to show leadership.”

But as with every other crisis the continent has faced recently, calls for European leadership really mean German leadership. Its economy is the largest in Europe, and its record of integrating newcomers is better than those of Belgium

and France, where migrant ghettos have become breeding grounds for terrorists.

Germany has largely managed to avoid that problem. In the 1960s and '70s, it took in vast numbers of Muslim migrants, mostly from Turkey, whose children and grandchildren are hardly less German than any of their classmates. As massive as the latest influx of asylum seekers is, Germany should be able to repeat that success—and in the longer term, emerge even stronger. “I’d even say we need them,” says Hans Eichel, a former Minister of Finance. “We have 600,000 jobs with no workers to fill them. So this is a big chance for Germany.”

BUT EVEN GERMAN PRAGMATISM can be pierced by fear. Since the attacks of New Year’s Eve, stories that might previously have made the back pages of a right-wing magazine have become the subject of national debate: a public swimming pool banning refugees for verbally harassing women, for instance, or a German town concerned about security canceling a carnival near a shelter for migrants.

“Everything we warned about is true,” says Tatjana Festerling, one of the leaders of the far-right group that calls itself Pegida, or Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West. “Now people can see that integration is not possible.”

On Jan. 11, about a week after the attacks in Cologne were widely publicized, Festerling led a rally in the eastern city of Leipzig to capitalize on the shift in the national mood. About 2,000 people came to listen to her speech in the freezing rain, buying up T-shirts that said, **RAPEFUGEES NOT WELCOME!**

From a stage set up on the back of a truck, Festerling seemed to relish her new set of talking points. Muslim migrants, she said, had declared a “sex jihad” on New Year’s Eve. “These Muslim refugees have begun an all-out terror attack against German women. Against blond, white women.”

Even as she finished her speech, a mob of skinheads was going on a rampage on the other side of town, smashing store windows and lighting fires along several city blocks in the working-class district of Connewitz. By the time the mob reached his kebab shop at around 8 in the evening, Hossam Gawisa, an Egyptian immigrant who has lived in Germany for a

quarter-century, barely had time to rush his customers out the back door.

“The Nazis just ran in and broke everything,” he says the next day while surveying the damage—windows shattered, furniture broken, part of the kitchen torn apart by some kind of explosive. “I don’t know why they did it,” says Gawisa. “Cologne has nothing to do with us.”

It was not an isolated incident. The previous day, another group of thugs went around attacking foreigners in Cologne; six Pakistanis and one Syrian were reportedly injured. Such vigilante groups have started forming across Europe as a pattern of anti-immigrant violence emerges. In Sweden, a masked attacker used a sword to kill two people with migrant backgrounds in October. In Finland, a group calling itself the Soldiers of Odin has begun walking the streets to guard against “Islamist intruders.”

“There’s a silent majority starting to speak up,” says Roger Beckamp, who represents the right-wing Alternative for Germany party in Cologne’s city council.

After the New Year’s Eve attacks, support for the party shot up 2 points to 11.5% in one nationwide poll. But its ideas for responding to the crisis don’t differ all that much from what Merkel’s government is now proposing: deportation. The reasoning is simple. Under current German law, migrants are subject to expulsion only if they are sentenced to more than three years in prison. The government’s proposal since the New Year’s Eve attacks has been to lower that threshold to a year, including suspended sentences, and to ease the state’s ability to revoke the asylum status of migrants who break the law, especially laws against sexual violence. “We find ourselves in a critical phase,” Justice Minister Heiko Maas said in presenting the proposal in the German Parliament on Jan. 13. “Many citizens are worried about the state’s

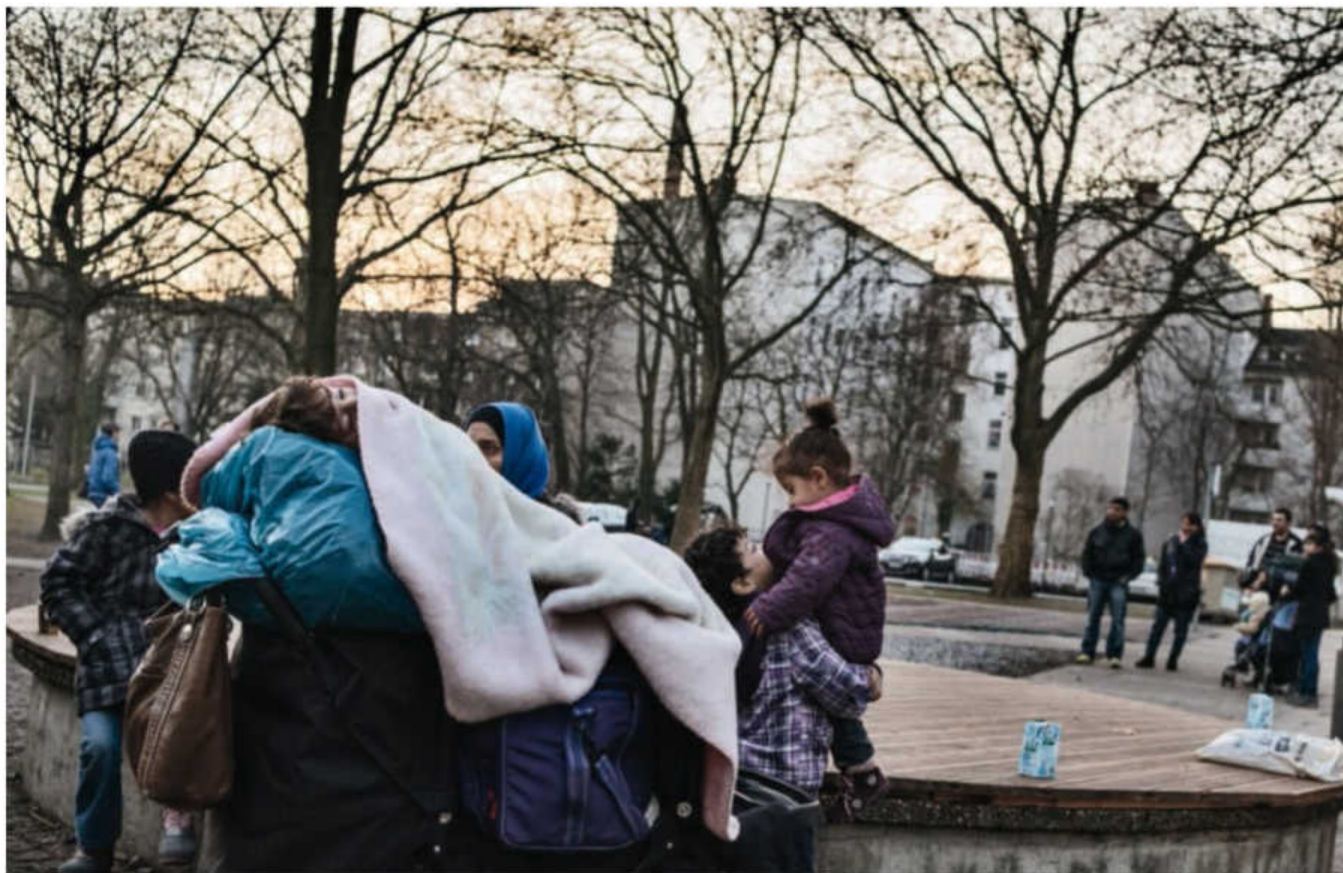
Even liberal Europeans have settled their suspicions on stereotypes of dangerous male migrants

ability to act. We cannot allow that.”

But Merkel won’t be able to deport her way out of this problem. Just by hiding or destroying their passports, migrants who break the law can block any deportation proceedings until authorities confirm where they came from. Even if their home countries cooperate, that can take years—and North African nations like Morocco and Algeria have not been eager to help. The legal guarantees of asylum pose another challenge. Out of concern for the safety of refugees, both German and international law prohibit sending them back to war-ravaged countries like Syria and Iraq. “Are we going to send them home to their deaths?” asks Claus-Ulrich Proelss, director of Cologne’s Refugee Council, which coordinates assistance to migrants in the city. “What happened here on New Year’s Eve is terrible, but it’s a criminal matter. Treating it like a migration issue only creates more problems.”

Such problems will only intensify as the influx drags on. The ravages of war in Syria and Iraq show no signs of easing, and when the weather improves this spring, Europe could see a tide of refugees even bigger than last year’s. Merkel has pledged to “tangibly” reduce the number of arrivals, in part by tightening controls of the E.U.’s external borders and pressuring Turkey to crack down on migrant smugglers. “Even a strong country like Germany would in the long run be unable to cope with such a large number of refugees,” she said.

But even for the masses who have already arrived, the challenges of integration will be starker than most Germans imagined. More than 70% of migrants arriving in Europe are adult men, some from impoverished families that pooled their resources to pay for their sons to travel to the West, others to avoid being forced into military service by the Syrian government. Many of these men had never ventured far outside their native villages before. During a recent German lesson at a shelter for men in Cologne, several of the students did not know how to write their names on the attendance sheet using the Latin alphabet. A few others strolled in late, reeking of marijuana. One middle-aged man was so shy that he could barely bring himself to look his female teacher in the eyes. “Some of them are fine,” says the teacher, Andrea



Migrants wait to be registered as asylum seekers in Berlin. Thousands of refugees still arrive in Germany each day

Nepomuck. “Others are totally lost.”

Not long ago, she and a friend took a group of migrants from the shelter to a nightclub. Wide-eyed with wonder, a few of the men could not believe that alcohol was for sale or that women were allowed to dance with strangers. “One of the Afghans told me that if this place opened up back home, it would be burned on the first night,” says Nepomuck.

As the teacher is quick to point out, none of this excuses the sexual assaults and robberies committed on New Year’s Eve, not least because such crimes would also be forbidden under the tenets of Islam and the laws of the perpetrators’ homelands. But the depths of disorientation that migrants often feel, combined with the traumas that many of them suffered before reaching Europe, point to how difficult it will be for them to adapt to the very different rules and customs of the societies that give them refuge. Faced with endemic poverty and

36%

Percentage of all refugee applications to Europe received by Germany in 2015. Nearly half of Germany’s applications were from Syrians and Iraqis.

Of all asylum applications, 73% were from men.

SOURCE: EUROSTAT

discrimination, many of the newcomers could retreat to what Merkel has called “parallel societies,” migrant ghettos that breed isolation and resentment even as they comfort the homesick.

Eichel, the former Finance Minister, says it will take three to five years before most of the migrants are able to enter the labor market. “And when you talk about integration, it’s a much more complicated problem than learning the language and the skills to work,” he says. It will also require their host countries to give refugees a sense of belonging.

That is what Merkel urged her increasingly doubtful people to do during her New Year’s Eve address to the nation. “There is no question,” she said, “that the influx of so many people will still demand more from us. It will cost time, strength and money.” It will also require the patience to see each migrant as an individual—neither a pity case to be coddled, nor an alien to be feared. □

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local office, where
protesters put
up photos of
residents who had
disappeared



IS CHINA KIDNAPPING ITS CRITICS?

The mysterious case of five missing publishers spotlights Beijing's growing intolerance

**By Hannah Beech/
Pattaya, Thailand**

JUST OVER A YEAR AGO, GUI MINHAI, A publisher specializing in juicy political tales banned in mainland China, jotted a note on his iPad. “Writing progress,” read the memo, detailing the prolific Chinese-born publisher’s upcoming projects. A future book was titled, with characteristic relish, *The Pimps of the Chinese Communist Party*, another *The Inside Story of the Chinese First Lady*. The naturalized Swedish citizen was also working on another project, his confidants say, one that may have gotten him in serious trouble with the Chinese government: a tell-all—who knows how truthful?—of Chinese President Xi Jinping’s rumored female liaisons.

On Jan. 17, Gui showed up on Chinese state TV in a video that would have strained belief as a plot point in his best-selling but, at times, questionably sourced books on the political and sexual peccadilloes of China’s ruling class. In the video, Gui, a Manchurian with broad shoulders and thick hair, slumps forward, face crumpling, as he says he voluntarily returned to China to face justice for a fatal drunk-driving accident in his eastern Chinese hometown of Ningbo 12 years ago. After the 1989 Tiananmen massacre, Gui, once a poet, had picked up Swedish citizenship during a period of self-exile. But in the 10-minute TV broadcast, he distanced himself from any Western protection. “Although I have Swedish citizenship, I truly feel that I am still Chinese and my

roots are in China,” he said. “So I wish the Swedish government will respect my personal choice, respect my rights and privacy and let me solve my own problems.”

The tearful confession was Gui’s first appearance since the 51-year-old vanished last October from outside the gates of his condominium in the Thai beach town of Pattaya. Four other men associated with Gui’s Mighty Current Media have also disappeared, three while traveling in southern China on separate occasions last fall. The most recent to go missing was Lee Bo, Gui’s business partner. Lee, who holds a British passport, was last seen on Dec. 30 in Hong Kong, where he and his wife ran a bookshop hawking hundreds of salacious political accounts to curious mainland Chinese.

There is no official record of Lee’s exiting the former British colony, which is governed by different laws than the rest of China as part of a so-called “one country, two systems” policy that ushered in Hong Kong’s return to China in 1997. Yet days after his disappearance, a fax in Lee’s handwriting appeared, explaining that he had used his “own methods” to travel to the mainland and was busy assisting in an unnamed investigation. (His letter and Gui’s confession used similar language.)

On Jan. 18, Chinese officials finally responded in writing to Hong Kong police queries on Lee’s whereabouts: he was “understood” to be in mainland China. British Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond had previously labeled the mysterious circumstances of Lee’s journey to mainland China as “an egregious breach” of Hong Kong’s autonomy. Even Tsang Yok-sing, the pro-Beijing leader of Hong Kong’s legislature, called into question China’s handling of the missing publishers, particularly the broadcast of Gui’s video, which he noted “did not seem to be able to calm the public.” For a Beijing loyalist like Tsang to note any anxiety was proof of just how unnerved people in Hong Kong are about the possibility of China running roughshod over local law. In a Jan. 19 op-ed, China’s state-linked *Global Times* chastised the Hong Kong citizenry for politicizing the publishers’ case, criticizing the territory for acting as “the bastion of any extreme or illegal actions that would shake the mainland’s political systems.”

Fax and video reassurances notwith-

standing, it does seem more than coincidence that five people linked to politically sensitive exposés all went missing, two outside mainland China. (The Chinese Foreign Ministry has not responded to queries on the publishers’ whereabouts.) The disappearances raise concerns not only about the possible extra-territorial exploits of Chinese security agents—the Soviets were masters of such abductions—but also the inability or unwillingness of other governments to counter a more activist China.

For decades, Beijing adhered to a non-interventionist approach to foreign affairs, lest other nations scrutinize its record at home. But under Xi, China has pursued a far more energetic international policy, designing and launching new multilateral organizations; clashing with neighbors in territorial disputes; and pressuring foreign governments to do its bidding, often by dangling its economic largesse as a reward. Some of these actions bespeak a nation that is growing into its natural role as a major player in global politics. Still, the question remains: Is the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) now in the business of kidnapping, both at home and abroad?

CHINA TODAY BOASTS the world’s second largest economy, and more than 100 million of its newly moneyed citizens travel the globe. Yet growth is slowing, and income inequality has surged. On Jan. 19, China’s official 2015 GDP figures came in at 6.9%, likely inflated by state planners but still the worst showing in 25 years. Since rising to the top of the CCP hierarchy in late 2012, Xi has been charged with an unenviable task: ensuring the relevance of a party that has ruled for 66 years, even as its primary achievement—the biggest economic expansion the world has ever seen—is losing its shine.

In the past couple of years, hundreds of freethinkers have been locked up in China

One of Xi’s responses to the CCP’s existential challenge has been to double down on repression, swatting down those who question the party’s wisdom. Over the past couple of years, hundreds of freethinkers have been locked up in China, from the nation’s top female lawyer and a legal activist once lauded in state media to Christian pastors and a moderate Muslim academic. State censors have muted online dialogue and ramped up Marxist indoctrination for cadres and students alike. Even as official media promote the idea that China is a nation bound by rule of law, Xi’s ministers have campaigned against dangerous notions like civil society, freedom of the press and universal human rights. “I think Xi is very proud of where China has come from, and he should be proud of its economic and military strength,” says Roderick MacFarquhar, a China specialist at Harvard University. “But when he talks about China’s commitment to rule of law, he doesn’t mean it. He means rule by law in which people obey him.”

A succession of journalists, lawyers and bloggers—not to mention Gui—have appeared in confessional videos broadcast on state TV, even before their cases have gone to trial. The coerced feel of the videos gives an impression less of due process and more of state control. “Today’s culture of confession is not about accountability, clean government or a rules-based system,” wrote David Bandurski, a media analyst at the University of Hong Kong, in an essay last year. “It is about dominance and submission.”

The latest mea culpa was released through Chinese online media on Jan. 19. In the video, another Swedish citizen, Peter Dahlin—who was detained in early January in Beijing, where he ran an NGO that helped human-rights defenders—appears to admit to actions that the Xinhua state news agency said “sponsored activities jeopardizing China’s national security.” “I violated Chinese law through my activities here,” Dahlin says in the video. “I’ve caused harm to the Chinese government. I’ve hurt the feelings of the Chinese people. I apologize sincerely for this.” In the broadcast, one person who said he worked with Dahlin dubs the 35-year-old Swede a “spokesman of the foreign anti-China forces in China.”

For all its ability to elicit such con-



▲
*Protesters outside the Chinese
embassy in London accuse Beijing
of abducting its critics*

fessions, China’s crackdown feels both brutal and brittle—a mighty ruling party spooked by unarmed poets, feminists and lawyers, none of whom are calling for an end to communist rule. “Maybe the Chinese government has power,” says Yi Feng, a Chinese dissident who fled to Thailand last September with his young son. “But it doesn’t have legitimacy.”

IF GUI WERE PLANNING to return to China to assuage his troubled conscience, he gave no sign of an impending life change. At his spacious Pattaya condominium, which he bought around a year ago, a new cabinet delivered days after his disappearance stands in the middle of the room, swaddled in plastic. On a desk, which afforded Gui an expansive view of the Gulf of Thailand, two days-of-the-week pillboxes sit, still filled with medicine for the days following his disappearance. Gui’s swimming gear rests in a bag on a nearby table, awaiting his usual daily swim.

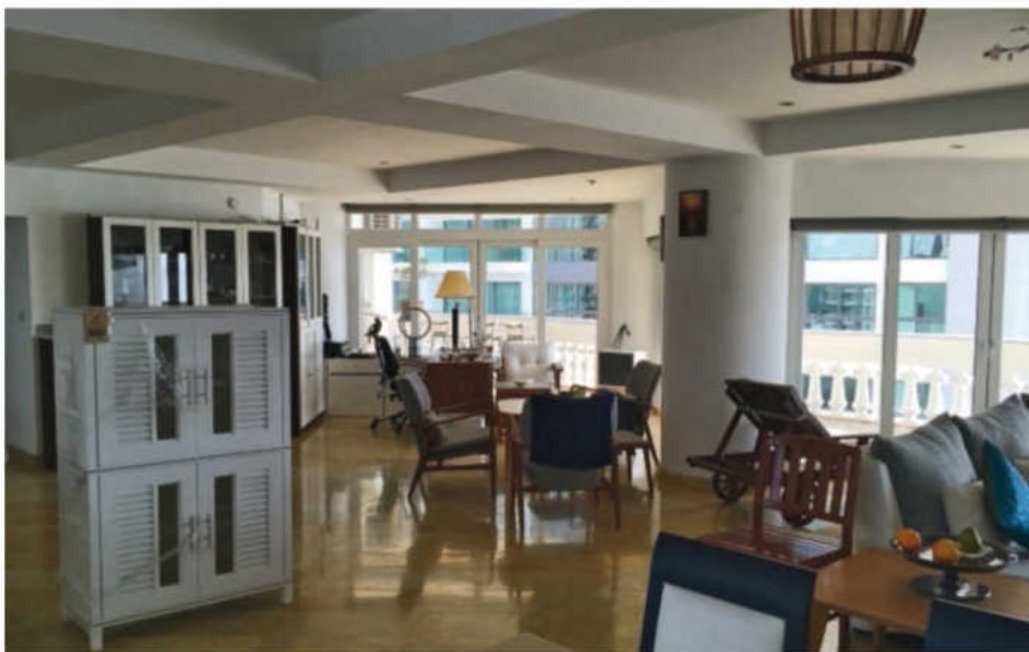
Gui was out shopping for groceries on Oct. 17 when a man speaking broken

Thai and no English showed up at the gate of the Silver Beach condominium. (His image was recorded on the building’s CCTV.) When Gui eventually returned, he asked the compound’s guard to take his groceries up to his apartment and leave them in the hallway. The two men climbed into Gui’s white hatchback. That was the last sighting of the publisher responsible for up to half of the pulp political books available in Hong Kong.

For a couple of weeks, Gui kept in contact with condo employee Pisamai Phumolna by phone, much as he did when he was in Hong Kong and needed her help in watering plants or ensuring bills were paid. Later on Oct. 17, he called, asking her to put the groceries—smoked salmon, bread and eggs, among other items—in the fridge. Then in early November he rang again, saying that friends would be

coming by to pick up a few things from his home and to please let them in. Four men showed up, one wearing a straw hat and sunglasses. Two spoke native Thai, while the other two spoke only Mandarin. Their images were also captured by the building’s CCTV.

The men stayed in Gui’s apartment for less than half an hour and took, at the very least, a laptop that had been on his desk. The printer’s cartridge also appears to be missing. Apart from shelves lined with copies of Mighty Current’s books, such as *The Mystery of Xi’s Family Fortune* and *The Dark History of the Red Emperor*, the apartment now contains not a single document connected to his work. It’s not clear if Gui’s Pattaya holiday home ever housed such papers, although the publisher often edited and commissioned new books while in Thailand, according to two of his writers who live in the U.S. They both believe he was soon to publish a book about Xi’s past female companions. (Xi is married to his second wife Peng Liyuan, a former singer in the People’s Liberation Army who



was once far more famous than her husband.) Gui's friends soon became worried, particularly because he had failed to communicate with printers about an upcoming book. One friend contacted Pisamai. When Gui called her next in mid-November, again from an unknown foreign number, she told him his family was concerned. He hung up and never called again.

Despite Pisamai's making a report at a local police station, no Thai or Swedish authorities have visited Gui's Pattaya home. Meanwhile, in his apartment, a poem by William Butler Yeats, "When You Are Old," is filed away, among quotidian notes-to-self to buy medicine and tweak wi-fi routers. Gui studied history at China's prestigious Peking University. Fellow poet Bei Ling, who was once jailed in China before going into exile overseas, remembers a passionate young man who thrilled at the power of words. In the mid-1980s, at a time when unauthorized translations of Franz Kafka could be a crime, Gui and other Beijing poets sneaked into salons held in foreign diplomatic compounds and read whatever samizdat Western literature they could find. As censorship loosened by the late 1980s, Gui studied comparative literature and published a book called *A Guide to*

^

*Gui was living in this apartment
in the Thai beach-resort town of
Pattaya when he first disappeared*

Twentieth Century Western Cultural History. Then the bloodshed at Tiananmen forestalled further political reform in China for years.

Gui's writers are now jittery. If the *Mighty Current* five have all ended up in Chinese detention, what safety is guaranteed for the publishing house's authors? Chinese dissidents living overseas are also nervous—particularly those in Thailand, which has traditionally welcomed hundreds of thousands of refugees from all over the region. But the country's ruling military junta has courted better relations with China, as ties with the U.S. have frayed because of the Thai army's 2014 coup.

Last July, around 100 ethnic Uighurs native to the troubled, predominantly Muslim region of Xinjiang in China's northwest were deported from Thailand. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) called the mass extradition to China "a flagrant violation of international law" and worried that members of the Turkic minority would face persecution back home. Then, shortly after

Gui's disappearance in Pattaya, two Chinese dissidents who had fled to Thailand were sent home for immigration violations, even though they possessed official refugee documents. One was about to be resettled in a third country. The pair were arrested upon their forcible return to China. The UNHCR again rebuked the Thai government.

"I thought once I escaped China I would be safe," says Yu Yanhua, another Chinese asylum seeker, as she waits in Bangkok for a UNHCR hearing to determine whether she will be classified as a political refugee, an often years-long process. After more than a dozen of her fellow democracy campaigners were detained in China as part of Xi's crackdown, Yu paid smugglers to transport her to Thailand last year. The last leg of her journey involved 13 claustrophobic hours in the storage belly of a bus. Now the former Chinese state-enterprise employee, who has endured multiple stints in Chinese detention, worries about the unknown Mandarin-speaking men who have been tailing her and other Chinese dissidents in Bangkok for weeks. "If I disappear tomorrow, you will have no doubt about who took me," Yu says. "The [Chinese] Communist Party is too powerful." —*With reporting by YANG SIQI/BEIJING* □

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Time Off

'UNFORTUNATELY, FRENCH CLOWN COLLEGE DOESN'T WORK OUT, AND HE'S SOON BACK IN BAKERSFIELD, CALIF.' —PAGE 56

MOVIES

The unbearable whiteness of the Oscar nominations

By Eliza Berman

ON FEB. 28, THE 88TH ACADEMY Awards will be hosted by a black comedian, Chris Rock, and co-produced by a black man, Reginald Hudlin. When the president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences takes the stage at the Dolby Theatre, the audience will hear from a black woman, Cheryl Boone Isaacs. Yet when it's time to dole out little gold statues to the best actors of 2015, there will be no nonwhite performers giving an acceptance speech.

For the second consecutive year, of the 20 nominations available to actors, not a single one went to a person of color. It's the first time since 1980 that the Oscars have gone without any nonwhite acting nominees for two years running. Before that, you'd have to go back to 1947, which marked the end of an eight-year stretch of all-white nominees, the Oscars' longest. Even the eight films up for Best Picture this year are void of stories about nonwhite people, and other than categories for which women *must* be nominated, their names are similarly scarce. In the race for Best Director, the last female nominee, Kathryn Bigelow, also happens to be the only woman ever to have won, and that was seven years ago, for *The Hurt Locker*.

Immediately after the Jan. 14 nomination ceremony, the Internet saw a resurgence of the hashtag #oscarssowhite, which entered the



vernacular after last year's field was announced, highlighted by perceived snubs for *Selma* director Ava DuVernay and star David Oyelowo. By Jan. 18, Martin Luther King Jr. Day, Boone Isaacs issued a statement: she was "heartbroken and frustrated about the lack of inclusion." Spike Lee, who recently received a lifetime-achievement award from the Academy, and Jada Pinkett Smith announced plans to have other plans on Oscars night. In an online video, Pinkett Smith said, "Begging for acknowledgment, or even asking, diminishes dignity and diminishes power." As the Rev. Al Sharpton urged viewers to "tune out" to damage ratings and impact the Academy's "bottom line," George Clooney—who has himself received criticism for a lack of diversity in his films—told *Variety* that the film world is "moving in the wrong direction," citing a lack of opportunity for nonwhite filmmakers. "By the way, we're talking about African Americans," he added. "For Hispanics, it's even worse. We need to get better at this."

THE KNEE-JERK REACTION IS TO BLAME THE Academy. Its members, after all, are the ones who determine the nominees—actors nominate actors, cinematographers nominate cinematographers, etc., and all of them have a say in Best Picture, as well as a vote on the finalists in all categories. According to a 2012 study by the *Los Angeles Times*, Academy membership is 94% white and 77% male, and Boone Isaacs has turned the spotlight inward, promising to build on recent efforts to diversify recruitment. The obvious path to a broader spectrum of nominees is to recruit more nonwhite and female members—a reality reflected in a surfeit of psychology studies showing that people tend to hire, stop at crosswalks for and even buy iPhones on eBay from people who look like them.

The Academy maintains an annual, three-step membership process like those of exclusive country clubs. The "easy" way is to receive an Oscar nomination, which automatically qualifies you but still requires votes from the branch to which you will belong (e.g., screenwriters, directors, costume designers) and the board of governors. Those who haven't been nominated must be sponsored by two branch members and meet certain criteria—an actor must have had a significant speaking role in at least three feature films "of a caliber that reflect the high standards of the Academy." Then a branch committee votes the prospect up or down. If the panel says yes, the name is passed on to the governors. The board currently includes Tom Hanks, Bigelow, producer Kathleen Kennedy and 48 other filmmakers. Boone Isaacs and cinematographer Daryn Okada are the only people of color.

The Academy has undertaken novel membership drives before. In the '60s and '70s, as a new gen-

eration of directors—Francis Ford Coppola, Martin Scorsese, Dennis Hopper—was remaking the American film landscape, the Academy successfully made a concerted effort to bring in younger members. Now it seeks to add racial and gender diversity along with youth in its new recruits.

Of course, members can only vote for movies that manage to survive Hollywood's notoriously difficult production cycle and make it into theaters. Women and people of color contend with a film industry in which they historically have faced less access to financing, fewer opportunities to direct and a widespread belief that leading actors who are neither white nor male are box-office poison. Sometimes these fears are explicitly stated, as when Ridley Scott, in response to complaints that his 2014 ancient-Egypt film *Exodus: Gods and Kings* was whitewashed, explained, "I can't mount a film of this budget... and say that my lead actor is Mohammad so-and-so from such-and-such. I'm just not going to get it financed."

Lee echoed the idea that the problem starts long before votes are cast: "The Academy Awards is not where the 'real' battle is," he wrote on Instagram. "It's in the executive office of the Hollywood studios and TV and cable networks. This is where the gatekeepers decide what gets made and what gets jettisoned to 'turnaround' or scrap heap."

But among those films that *did* get made in 2015, there were plenty of nonwhite performers for Academy members to consider: Will Smith in *Concussion*, Idris Elba in *Beasts of No Nation*, Michael B. Jordan and Tessa Thompson in *Creed*, Teyonah Parris in *Chi-Raq*, Samuel L. Jackson in *The Hateful Eight* and Benicio del Toro in *Sicario*, to name a few. *Creed*, a film by a black director with a black lead actor, got one Oscar nod, for white supporting actor Sylvester Stallone. *Straight Outta Compton*, a biopic about hip-hop pioneers N.W.A, might have earned a spot in the Best Picture field were that group's place in pop-music history more widely understood by an Academy with a median membership age of 62.

The Oscars look even less diverse when compared with the Golden Globes, which appear more inclusive. That's largely thanks to the Globes' awards for television, currently burgeoning with acclaimed shows about women and people of color that turn in solid ratings. Television is less expensive, faster to produce and free from the burden of international marketing. Yet if *Empire*, *Master of None* and any show touched by Shonda Rhimes have proved anything, it's that such stories do not deter white audiences from watching. The movie machine is undoubtedly a tougher ship to turn, but if the Academy doesn't shift course, it may soon be reading an even harsher hashtag: #oscarshocares?

OVERLOOKED, BUT NOT UNQUALIFIED



As *Straight Outta Compton*'s Eazy-E, **Jason Mitchell** was in an acclaimed cast working with black director F. Gary Gray; the film's lone Oscar nod went to its white screenwriters



Creed won **Michael B. Jordan** and its black director and screenwriters accolades, but its single nomination went to Sylvester Stallone



Idris Elba garnered Golden Globe, Screen Actors Guild and BAFTA nominations for *Beasts of No Nation*, but nothing from the Academy



A few teeth short of a smile, Isaac fights Hedlund to the finish

REVIEW

Mojave: humor as dark and bitter as a burnt espresso

WILLIAM MONAHAN, WHO HAS written screenplays for some terrific movies—*The Departed* among them—is fast on his way to becoming the smartest, wiliest indie director no one has heard of. In 2010 his scrappy, '60s-inflected thriller *London Boulevard*, with Keira Knightley and Colin Farrell, disappeared, unfairly, with barely a trace. Now he brings us the wicked noir comedy *Mojave*. Garrett Hedlund's Thomas, a hugely successful but very depressed star, treks to the desert to find enlightenment or solace or both. There he's joined, around his cozy little he-man campfire, by scruffy autodidact drifter Jack (Oscar Isaac), who's fond of Shakespeare, the Bible and messing with people's heads. When Thomas asks what he "does," Jack replies, "I fall upon travelers. People come out to the desert, they get fallen upon by thieves. It's very traditional." Wisely, Thomas gets out fast, but not fast enough.

Mojave riffs on the emptiness of Hollywood: Mark Wahlberg shows up as a coked-out movie executive, given to padding around his gaudy palatial estate in a cozy bathrobe and a pair of Uggs, ordering up hookers and Chinese

food, as one does. But *Mojave*'s real reason for existing is the wiry, woolly dialogue that Monahan has spun out for his actors. Thomas and Jack taunt and bully each other ruthlessly. Isaac, in particular, has a great time with all this devilry, and it doesn't hurt that Jack is missing a tooth or two: his jack-o'-lantern grin only enhances his vibe of charismatic derangement.

Monahan's sense of humor is as dark and bitter as a burnt espresso, and he has a taste for grim violence. But he still has a great deal of feeling for his characters, and that's the key to *Mojave*. These guys are awful, but Monahan makes sure we always see where they're coming from. At one point, Thomas passes a rock spray-painted with graffiti, a cruel joke in light of his belief that the desert represents an escape from civilization. But the joke's on him, considering that he takes no notice of it—for all his talk about the landscape, the landscape escapes him. In *Mojave*, the desert, a place of dusky golds and hazy blues, looks like a better spot for losing yourself than for finding answers. Then again, maybe the two are the same thing.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

REVIEW

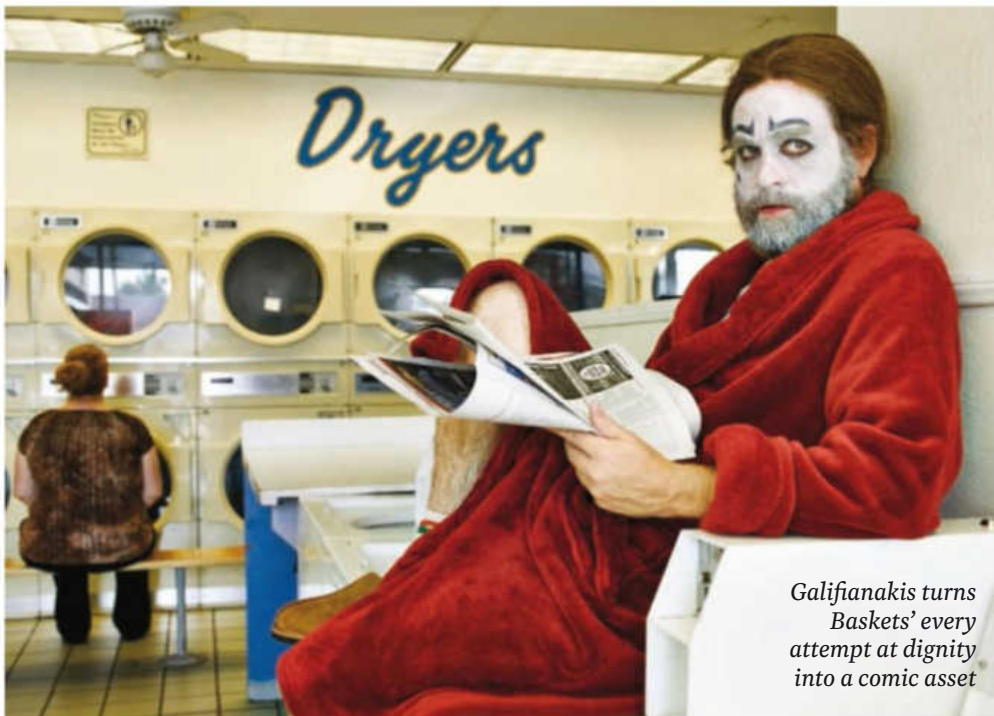
45 Years together—and alone

OUR IDEAS OF LOVE ARE often shaped more by what's outside us than within. Maybe that's why we melt when we see devoted older couples—even if we know nothing about them, we think, Somehow they've done it right. In Andrew Haigh's delicately shaded *45 Years*, Charlotte Rampling—in a superb, Oscar-nominated performance—and Tom Courtenay play such a couple. Nearing their 45th anniversary, Courtenay's Geoff learns that the body of a woman he once loved, long missing, has been found. He's shaken, yet the news affects Rampling's Kate more deeply. Her vulnerability, fueled by jealousy, becomes a thing of lacerating power.

Kate is surrounded by people, yet her sense of isolation is so resplendent that we're torn between basking in it and turning away. The truth of *45 Years* is that even devoted couples comprise individuals who are essentially alone. If they're lucky, the bridge they've built between them is strong. Rampling's face is that of a woman who knows her bridge has washed away. —S.Z.



Rampling delivers a visceral sense of vulnerability and loss



Galifianakis turns *Baskets*' every attempt at dignity into a comic asset

REVIEW

Baskets finds laughs in the tears of a clown

By Daniel D'Addario

THE SAD CLOWN WOULD BE A HOARY TROPE, IF IT DIDN'T resonate so deeply. Even leaving aside coulrophobia—the fear of clowns is so widespread, it has a word of its own—something dispiriting and real happens when the makeup goes on. Putting a happy, or at least a socially acceptable, face on ineffable pain is what we're all trained to do.

Zach Galifianakis knows this. The *Hangover* series and *Due Date* may be wildly comic, but the star wrings laughs from his futile quest to be understood. Galifianakis' ability to simply be funny often overshadows the twinge of pain. But on FX's new series *Baskets*, premiering Jan. 21, the actor finally goes full forlorn.

Galifianakis plays Chip Baskets, who dreams of being a classically trained clown named Renoir. Unfortunately, French clown college doesn't work out, and he's soon back in Bakersfield, Calif., performing simply as Baskets (the perfect *nom de clown*). From France he brings both an unloving Euro wife (Sabina Sciubba) and a new dream: to elevate local clowning. Indeed, he's the most artful, or the most pretentious, rodeo clown the Central Valley has ever seen.

As Baskets seeks to meld high art and low entertainment, *Baskets* strives to merge humor and melancholy. The clown lives in constant fear of his mother, played by the comedian Louie Anderson in drag, and his brother, also played by Galifianakis as a junior-college head whose school includes majors in "ice-cream-truck painting" and "homemade

condiments." The Baskets family is funny, or funny-adjacent. Yet Anderson's performance feels like a mean joke at someone's expense. Anderson's? Ours?

That question—is this grittily real or flat-out mean?—haunts the series. One episode looks at the family's Easter meal at a casino, during which Anderson's character finds a way to insinuate herself into the family of Baskets' one friend, Martha (first-time actor Martha Kelly). The already tough premise gives way to simple brutality.

It's all artfully done, but something feels familiar. TV is glutted with 30-minute shows that feel like pointed rejoinders to the golden age of the sitcom. Many of the shows giving us a half hour of anomie—including FX's *Louie*, whose creator, Louis CK, is an executive producer of *Baskets*—are very good. But the point that life can be grimly humorous and humorously grim has been made repeatedly.

Baskets is so much in tune with TV's current blue period that even Galifianakis' fans might tune out. But they'd be missing something other bumper-coms can't boast. Galifianakis delivers a remarkable performance, connected enough to his star persona to make the work accessible but pitched at a new level of mania.

Consider Baskets out of clown makeup, talking to his troubled niece. "Suicide is not the answer, usually," he tells her, barreling through the comma like a linebacker. It's not all that funny a premise or, as written, a funny line. But within the sadness, Galifianakis finds the joke.

Thursdays at 10 p.m. E.T. on FX

'This is a real job. We all can't be florists or dishwashers. Some of us have to be artists.'

ZACH GALIFIANAKIS, as Chip Baskets, defending his job as a rodeo clown

REVIEW

London Spy exposes the inner life of a gay sleuth

IMAGINE: YOU'RE COMING OFF ANOTHER ROUGH night out and you bump into a jogger—a very good-looking one. After this classic meet-cute, you two end up dating—sure, he's a little secretive, but he's so nice—until suddenly he disappears.

What's a lovelorn boy to do? For Danny (Ben Whishaw), the protagonist of BBC America's five-part miniseries *London Spy*, the answer is: investigate. The absent Alex (Edward Holcroft) turns out, of course, to have secrets; he's the owner of a room of pain that may have been planted, in order to discredit him, by those who made Alex disappear.

London Spy, which aired in the U.K. last year and premieres stateside Jan. 21, is provocative and strange. It asks what it takes to be a player in the spy game and what it means to be gay in a world that would rather one weren't—Danny's one ally is a former spook (a brilliant Jim Broadbent) whose career was ruined by homophobia. The survival instinct underpinning both is not so very different.

Danny is out of his depth at first. Even at her most delusional, *Homeland*'s Carrie Mathison would frown on his credulity. But watching him learn to open locked doors is remarkable. He faces off against a subtle gorgon played by Oscar nominee Charlotte Rampling—a tradecraft challenge in the show's world and an acting challenge in ours. Through a series of these tests, he finds strength that he has had all along. The central fact of *London Spy*, a too rare show centered on the inner life of a gay person, is that Danny's been spying his whole life. —D.D.

Thursdays at 10 p.m. E.T. on BBC America



Whishaw and Holcroft go deep undercover

WHISHAW: BBC; BLOOM: AP

QUICK TALK

Rachel Bloom

The star and co-creator of musical comedy *Crazy Ex-Girlfriend* (returns Jan. 25) won a Golden Globe for the role of Rebecca, who decides to shake her depression by moving to California to win back an old flame.

How did you decide to approach Rebecca's mental illness? There were no boundaries. There was an early version of the show where she was cutting herself. Rebecca moving to another state to pursue someone is messed up. It would have felt false to romanticize love as an escape like rom-coms so often do. In reality, she would be a pill-popping, depressed lawyer with insomnia.

Rebecca sings "The Sexy Getting-Ready Song," about the things women do to look good. Why was that important to skewer? That song is about our collective madness. You think Rebecca is crazy to pluck and wax and wear Spanx for love, but is she? Her problems are symptomatic of the contradictory messages women receive every day. We're told to be both successful and beautiful. The fairy tale ends with marriage, but when a woman gets upset over a breakup she's "a crazy bitch."

The show makes a male Asian character, Josh, the sex symbol, which is rare for TV. I'd never seen the trope of an Asian bro on TV, and I grew up in California with a lot of Asian bros. The homecoming king at my school was Chinese. On a lot of shows everyone is white and vaguely Protestant to be "relatable." I don't care about being relatable. I care about being truthful.

Some people thought the show's name was sexist. Did you expect that? The show is the opposite of that. The theme song says *crazy ex-girlfriend* is a sexist term. Had it been on cable I don't think there would have been backlash, because people would have assumed it was a subversion. But because it's a network show, people take it at face value. But it's a deconstruction and a darker comedy than people would assume. —ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

ON MY RADAR

HAMILTON
'By the end of Hamilton I was sobbing uncontrollably. Not only is it brilliant—it's Shakespeare meets Stephen Sondheim—but people were treating a musical like Star Wars, they were so excited. It restores my faith in my fellow Americans that we can appreciate something so smart.'



TIME
PICKS

MOVIES

Chris Pine and Casey Affleck star in disaster drama **The Finest Hours** (Jan. 29), about a 1952 Coast Guard mission to rescue two oil tankers threatened by a brutal nor'easter.

^
MUSIC

British indie rockers **Bloc Party** return from a two-year hiatus with a fifth album, *Hymns* (Jan. 29), which draws inspiration from devotional music while exploring facets of everyday life like nature and intimacy.

BOOKS

Charlie Jane Anders' novel **All the Birds in the Sky** (Jan. 26) follows two childhood friends who reunite in adulthood, one an engineer and the other a witch, to stave off an impending apocalypse.

^
TELEVISION

David Duchovny and Gillian Anderson return as agents Mulder and Scully to solve new paranormal mysteries in a miniseries revival of **The X-Files** debuting Jan. 24 on Fox.



FICTION

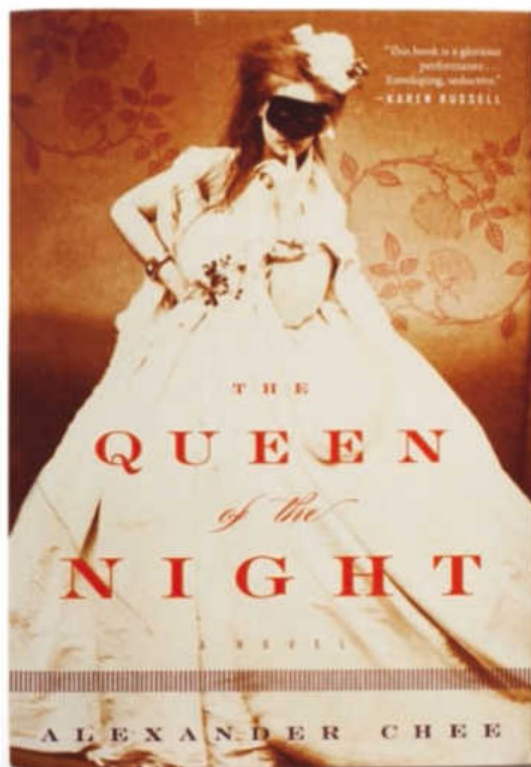
The diva who changes her tune

CLASSIC OPERAS CONCERN themselves not with the verisimilitude of human emotions but with spectacle, intrigue and fate. In his new novel about a fin de siècle soprano who calls herself Lilliet Berne, Alexander Chee employs that formula to stage an opera of the page, complete with seduction, hidden identity, betrayal and plenty of costume changes.

It's 1882 in Paris, and Lilliet is a diva at the top of her game. She's played the best characters in opera houses around Europe, and all that remains to cement her reputation is to create a role of her own. But when a writer approaches her offering her the chance to originate a part in his new opera, she is alarmed by the plot: it seems to be based on her own secret past, informed by events only four people could know about: "The first still loved me but had betrayed me, the second had once owned me. The third, I would say, never thought of me at all." The fourth is dead—or so she believes.

As Lilliet investigates her former friends and lovers, she begins to tell the reader her true story: Her rise to the pinnacle of French society began not in the salons of Paris but on the prairies of Minnesota. (Who but an American could so expertly shift her identity?) Her mother punishes her for taking too much pleasure in her own singing; she retaliates by faking a fever that destroys her voice entirely. Fate, God or "the gods"—

she can never decide which guides her life—strike back by killing her entire family with true sickness. Tragedy spurs her journey east, first to New York City then on to Paris, where she takes on new aliases, performing in a circus as an equestrian who won't speak but who dazzles Napoleon III with her singing voice. She takes employment in a brothel where her madam sells her to an obsessive customer who sets her up as his courtesan and

^
MUSICAL NOTES

Chee's first novel, the Whiting Award-winning *Edinburgh*, was also about a soprano—in that case, a member of a boys' choir who has been molested by his director

begins to train her voice. Before long, Lilliet is a prima donna, adored by the masses, friendly with the likes of Giuseppe Verdi, dressed in extravagant finery and pinning for the only man she ever loved, who remains out of reach. Believe it or not, that wasn't an extensive spoiler—merely a prelude to the twists that lie ahead.

Like Georges Bizet's Carmen or Pamina in *The Magic Flute*, Lilliet is more persona than personality: her love is passionate but shallow, and her motives don't stand up to scrutiny. It's the ball gowns and roses, magic tricks and ruses, hubris and punishment that will keep the reader absorbed until the final aria, waiting to see whom fate will curse and whom it will avenge. —SARAH BEGLEY

HISTORY

A voice from America's past speaks again

T.S. HAWKINS WAS MANY THINGS, BUT VAIN WAS NOT ONE of them. *Some Recollections of a Busy Life*, his account of an idyllic 19th century Missouri boyhood and eventual journey to a young California, was not meant for a wide audience. He published 300 copies in 1913, mostly for the enjoyment of his friends and family.

Hawkins' story would likely have ended there, were his great-great-grandson not Dave Eggers (*What Is the What*, *The Circle*), who has reissued his forefather's book with a new introduction. Considering the ethos of McSweeney's, Eggers' slickly indie publishing operation, it's not surprising that the little volume is a pleasure to behold. What is surprising, considering Hawkins' modest goals, is that it's a pleasure to read.

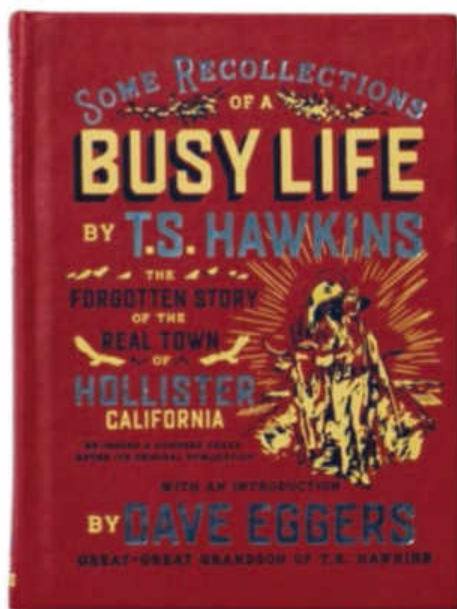
Hawkins' life was indeed a busy one. The farmer-frontiersman-banker-philanthropist had an optimist's soul and a serious ear for description. His narrative lacks only for characters: though he's heartbroken by his first wife's death, readers learn little of her beyond her name. Hawkins apparently felt his readers would be more interested in the logistics of running a country store.

But part of the pleasure of *Recollections* is the chance for readers of modern popular history to spend time with a primary source, however imperfect. Though Hawkins' writing is by turns touching and tense, particularly as he crosses the prairie by wagon, the firsthand nature of the tale is what makes it special. Eggers proves that point by joking in the introduction that his ancestor used bark for clothes and that he assumes "it was a fabric that breathed." Reading the original, however, it's clear that the wood was merely used to dye linen or wool. That's a tiny thing, almost too petty to mention, but a reminder that history is a game of telephone. And even that skimpy treatment of Hawkins' wives offers insight into the priorities of the time.

Pretty much everything does, after all, and that's the point—of history in general, of the pairing of Eggers and Hawkins, even of Hawkins' work on its own.

Later in his life, Hawkins travels back East, retracing his ox-drawn steps by rail. He sees how the Civil War, from which he was insulated out West, left rotted homes and "vacant chairs at the fireside" on the once dreamy shores of the Mera-mec River. Nevertheless, Hawkins hopes that some things will last, like the hospital he founds in Hollister, Calif., which he wishes to remain open "forever." Sure enough, it still exists. The fact could shock its author, but this book is still here too.

—LILY ROTHMAN



'On either side of the road we could see hundreds, perhaps thousands, of carcasses of dead cattle in the ghastly moonlight.'

T.S. HAWKINS, describing his 1860 wagon-train journey across the Nevada desert

POLITICS

Left and right, page by page



Exit Right by Daniel Oppenheimer traces the path of six influential men, including Ronald Reagan and Christopher Hitchens, who moved from the left to the right, in ideological shifts that changed "the contours of American politics."



Why Liberals Win the Culture Wars (Even When They Lose Elections) by Stephen Prothero finds a pattern in centuries' worth of American culture wars, instigated—and, according to the author, predictably lost—by the right.



Why the Right Went Wrong by E.J. Dionne Jr. starts at the Goldwater movement to follow widening divisions within the Republican Party—and to make a case that both parties have a lot of work to do.



Leonardo DiCaprio said he would be open to **playing Vladimir Putin** in a movie.

Burger chain Shake Shack officially **added a chicken sandwich** to its menu.



Internet sleuths uncovered a cat that **bears a striking resemblance to Star Wars actor Adam Driver**.



Adele **rapped Nicki Minaj's verse from "Monster"** during an episode of CBS's *Late Late Show* without missing a beat.

Taylor Swift and Calvin Harris **let a young fan crash their dinner date**—and post about it on Instagram.



With help from Jimmy Kimmel, hip-hop star DJ Khaled made a **pep-talk video for Jeb Bush**, including lines like:

'Jeb Bush, I appreciate you. You a leader. You a Bush.'



TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

LOVE IT
LEAVE IT

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



A Texas man **fell into a 7-ft. hole** on his way to buy a Powerball ticket and had to be rescued by local police.

McDonald's has started marketing a McChoco Potato in Japan; it's **basically just fries drizzled with chocolate sauce**.



Backstreet Boy Nick Carter **was arrested for battery** after allegedly assaulting a bouncer in Florida; the cops initially listed his occupation as *none*.

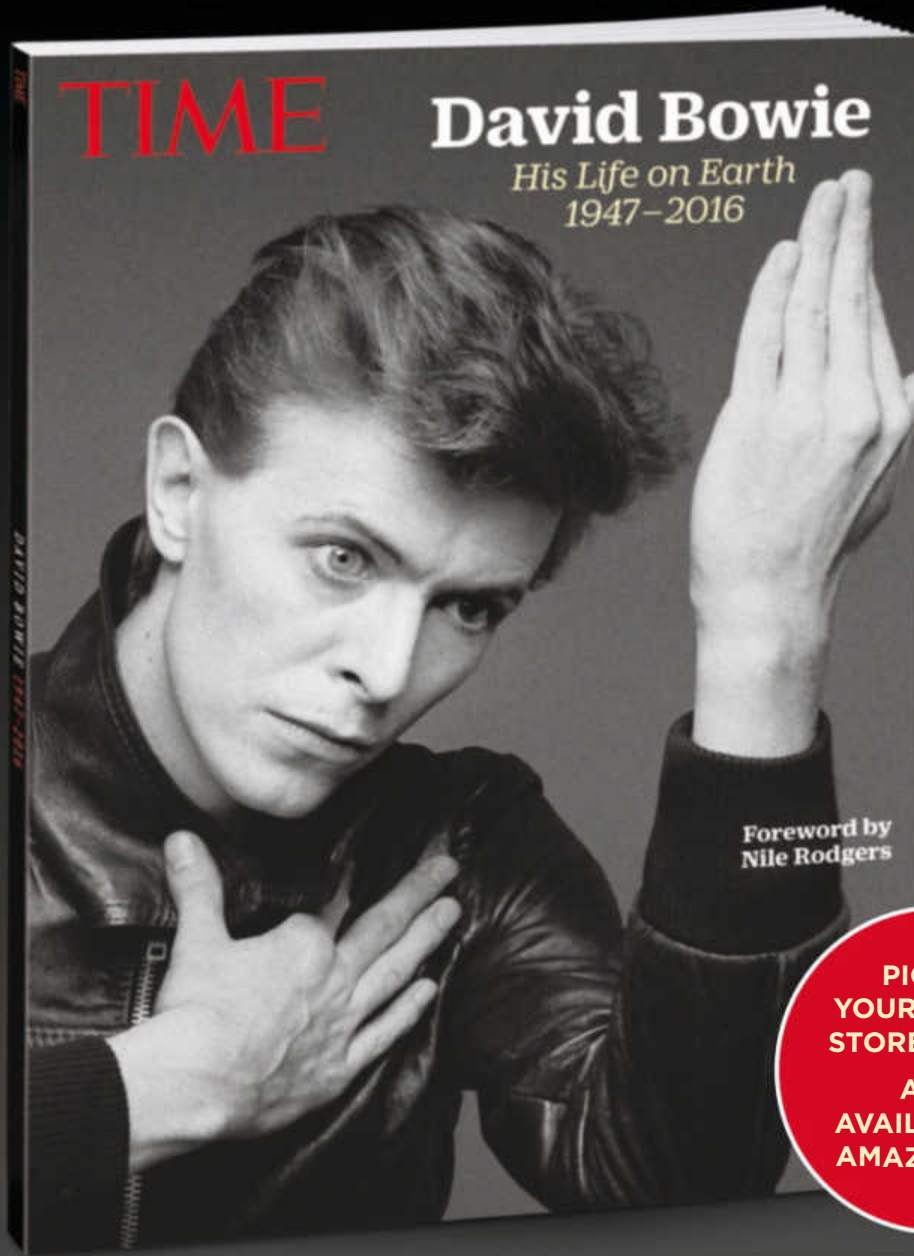
Matthew Perry, known for his role as Chandler Bing on *Friends*, **will not appear in** an upcoming TV special with the rest of the cast.



A Taiwanese group said it built a **church shaped like a high-heeled shoe** as part of an effort to appeal to women.

SWIFT: INSTAGRAM; SANDWICH: SHAKE SHACK; CAT: MONMOUTH COUNTY SPCA; FRIES: McDONALD'S; ADELE: CHURCH; YOUTUBE; PUTIN: DICAPRIO; DRIVER, BUSH, KHALED, CARTER, FRIENDS, BOOTS: GETTY IMAGES

The Life of David Bowie — Artist, Musician and Innovator



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- An interview with David Bowie on his 50th birthday from the Time Inc. archives •
 - Iconic photography from throughout his entire life •
- Ten essential songs to consider for the ultimate Bowie Playlist •



THE AMATEUR

My last year in office: A lame-duck mother assesses her tenure

By Kristin van Ogtrop

ASIDE FROM THE FACTS THAT I AM NOT AS WELL EDUCATED and have never been to Hawaii, Barack Obama and I might as well be the same person. We are about the same age and are fans of Stevie Wonder and loyal to our BlackBerrys, even in the face of ridicule. And we are both taking a final lap: he as President, I as a hands-on mother. Is it a victory lap? Never mind. Let's just say that later this year he will say goodbye to his constituents and I will say goodbye to my 17-year-old as he heads off to college. And—I'm projecting here, Mr. President—we're approaching this, our last year in control, with a mixture of sadness and tremendous relief.

Parenting and running a country have a lot in common. There are days when you wake up and wonder how you got into this mess—is it too late to say you were just kidding? Then you remember that you have bedrock faith in your people. Yes, they take all the credit when things go right and blame you when things go wrong. But you believe you understand what's in their best interests better than they do, and that belief gives you purpose, not to mention the ability to get out of bed every morning.

WOULDN'T YOU AGREE, Mr. President, that it's inconceivable we've reached the end of this long journey? It was so ... so ... what, exactly? There should be a phrase in English to describe an event that is both wonderful and the most excruciating thing you've ever experienced, like that nifty oxymoronic

French term *jolie laide* for “beautiful ugly.” My son doesn't know that French term, because I urged him to study Spanish back in middle school, in the days when he was still malleable and took my advice.

And now my son is like Congress, always rolling his eyes at me behind my back. I think I did the best I could with the tools at my disposal, in the precious time I had. But at a certain point you have to admit futility. I can't speak for the presidency, but lame-duck motherhood looks like this: you spend more than a decade limiting

your child's sugar and caffeine intake and then watch, helpless, as your 17-year-old demi-man makes himself a cup of coffee (coffee!) for the walk to school and puts a Mount Kilimanjaro of sugar in it. And you realize, once again, that you are no longer in charge. He is bigger and stronger and sneakier than you are, plus he is constantly changing his passwords. You can't control his sugar intake or choice of friends or the fact that he stopped taking Spanish in 11th grade. Unless you impose some sort of martial law.

Parenting and running a country have a lot in common. There are days when you wake up and wonder how you got into this mess



Mr. President, I'm sure you would agree that we both tolerate healthy debate, because that is what democracy is all about. But don't tell me it has never crossed your mind that a dictatorship might be more, shall we say, efficient. Congress and 17-year-olds used to actually respect authority. Now it's all arguing with us, all the time. And if you are at all self-reflective, then self-doubt arrives, in what is supposed to be the victory lap. Is there anything we can do to make one final impact, to correct the countless mistakes we have made, quick, before the time runs out?

OF COURSE, our constituents are focused on the next thing. We still represent something, but our titles are now basically in quotation marks. My approval ratings are about as bad as yours, Mr. President, but we can console ourselves with the knowledge that yours are better than George W. Bush's were at this stage of his presidency and mine are better than those of a mother I know who won't let her son play *League of Legends* until his fingers fall off.

Peter Baker recently wrote in the *New York Times* that Obama, as he prepared for his final State of the Union address, was at “the pivot point where he goes from priority setter to celebrity spectator in the contest for the future.” I personally try not to think about the future. Because then: off my son goes. Leaving me to hope that the memories of our years under one roof will be mostly good and that I've put both of us on the path to a solid future. I console myself with the possibility that, like a former Commander in Chief, I will become a celebrity spectator. After all, until the day he dies, we will keep calling Obama “Mr. President.” And until the day I die, hopefully my son will keep calling me “Mom.”

Van Ogtrop is the editor of Real Simple

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Herman Wouk The best-selling author of *The Caine Mutiny* and *The Winds of War* marks his 100th year on earth with a new memoir, *Sailor and Fiddler*

How do you physically write a book at age 100? Most of my life, I wrote longhand. I've always been able to type, of course, but writing prose on an infernal machine was a big step for me. I've kept a journal since 1937 that's about 100 volumes.

Any bombshells buried in those volumes? I actually don't know. I didn't look at my diary while I was writing *Sailor and Fiddler*—I was writing from memory. If I started looking in my diaries, I might have said, "Oh, yes, let's put in that."

What's the most amazing change you've witnessed in your lifetime? That phrase, *amazing change*, occurs only once in *Sailor and Fiddler*, and it has to do with the present state of Israel. I routinely check in with Israeli news on the computer—that's one of the nice things about computers. And on this occasion I read an illustrated story of Israeli air-force officers on a vast nuclear aircraft carrier, the U.S.S. *Theodore Roosevelt*, observing carrier operations at sea. What struck me was the difference between the beginning of my consciousness, which was about the end of World War I, and the present day. I was 3 years old in 1918. I knew that the war was over. My mother explained about the noise outside. The Jewish people in 1918 were in the same exile they had endured through almost 2,000 years. And now I was reading about air-force officers of the new Jewish nation visiting a vast warship of Israel's most formidable ally. That was an astounding change.

What do you think of the state of the world today? Middle East and ISIS? I used to answer questions like that when I

gave interviews, which was very seldom, by saying that my expertise stopped at 1945. But after writing *The Hope* [1993] and *The Glory* [1994], I might say that my expertise stops in 1988, 40 years after the rise of Israel. I'm a passionate Zionist, as my father was. So I'm essentially a guy in the bleachers cheering for our side.

What's your favorite memoir? Let's start with James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*—that's a pretty good one.

What was your favorite decade? I've got 10 to choose from. I'd have to say the 1940s, when the big change in my life was going from writing comedy to going to sea as a naval officer.

You refer to the "folly of industrialized war" in your book. What do you mean by that? When war reaches the point that it did in Leyte Gulf, where the machinery of war overwhelmed the leadership of war. Once the human race figured out how to dig uranium from the earth and make a projectile of it, it's really the end of war. In most of my lifetime, the two powers that could do it refrained from doing it because it was sheer folly ending in suicidal absurdity.

What is your fondest memory of the Navy, where you served for four years during World War II? It was a great period in my life. It expanded my vision beyond New York to the far shores of the Pacific. I was out at sea with very different company from what I'd grown up with. It gave me a point of view, which I carry with me today. I'm a sailor.

Who was better—Humphrey Bogart in *The Caine Mutiny* or Robert Mitchum in *The Winds of War* and *War and Remembrance*? Why compare them? Class is class. These men were top-class artists.

What was the secret of staying together for all 63 years of marriage to your late wife Sarah? Love. It took us straight through all those years, solving everything, together.

—MARK THOMPSON



LIVING HISTORY
Marjorie Morningstar was a hit, landing Wouk on the Sept. 5, 1955, cover of TIME; the novel would become a film starring Natalie Wood and Gene Kelly

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